FBIS DAILY REPORT

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ATA TERMS REAGAN SPEECH TO OAS 'INTERFERENCE'

AU261511 Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 26 Feb 82

["Reagan Reafirms The Policy of U.S. Interference In Central America" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 25 Feb (ATA) -- The U.S. President, Reagan, delivered a speech at a meeting of the American States Organisation (OAS), which was held in Washington.

All of his speech expressed the profound worry of the White House for the course of events in Central America, where the foundations of pro-American military juntas are being shaken by the patriotic and liberation movements. Resorting to fierce rhetoric, the U.S. President said that the United States "will adopt all the necessary measures for the security of the vital and strategic region" of Central America and Caribbean, something that implies that U.S. imperialism is ready to intervene and take all measures to hinder the overthrow of the dictatorship of this region. Reagan proposed a plan of four items to increase the military and financial aid for the pro-American regimes, which he will present to the Congress for approval. According to the plan, it is envisaged that the military and financial aid for these countries increase with an other 350 million dollars, amounting to the sum of 996 million dollars a year, or double the sum of last year.

He promised to those states of Caribbean and Central America which follow the American policy that "he will help them economically", that he "will create trade facilities for them", when it is known that these countries, producers of raw materials, are linked hand and foot with U.S. capital, completely depend on Washington and are plunged in loans. The offer of this "aid", as the news agencies also stress, is more a political investment than a direct aid, because it aims at hindering the region to come out of the grip of U.S. domination.

The military and political aims of the "generosity" of Reagan are also seen in the measures the White House and Pentagon are adopting to strengthen their control and dictate on the region. Aircraft, warships, helicopters, etc are being dispatched in plenty in Salvador. Special attention is being attached to the military naval exercises in the Caribbean Sea and in the Mexico Gulf. Another meaningful fact of the American worry to preserve by all manner of means the status quo in the above mentioned region is also the report of Admiral Harry Train, who, just at the time when Reagan was holding his speech, declared that in March, large-scale military naval manoeuvres will be conducted in the Gulf of Mexico with the participation of the NATO member countries, something which shows that in order to preserve its dominating strategic positions, Washington does not hesitate to use even its aggressive tool, NATO, which has formally been created only for "the defence of Europe."

Despite all these feverish military preparations, the Pentagon generals, the U.S. Secretary of State Haig and that of defence, Weinberger, have overtly expressed themselves on "the possibility of the interference of American troops in Central America."

All these facts clearly reveal how "sincere" are Reagan's "aid" and words on "the ecurity of peace" in the region.

RADIO REPORTS ATHEISTIC INITIATIVE BY PUPILS

AU261615 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 0700 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] In the framework of the revolutionary movement of the Naim Frsheri General Secondary School in Durres, a number of activities are being undertaken to educate the younger generation with the norms of communist morality and against alien manifestations. Thus, talks on atheistic and scientific themes are being organized. A talk was organized recently at the Aleksander Moisiu Palace of Culture, which was attended by numerous young people. Meanwhile, visits are being made to the Atheistic and Scientific Museum of the Naim Frasheri School, through which the young people are being acquainted with the initiative of this school to combat alien manifestations. Considerable activity is being carried out by the former members of the staff of the movement against religious influences. Marches and excursions to historical sites are also being organized.

TURKISH LEADER EVREN ENDS VISIT, DEPARTS

Arrival in Varna

AU261957 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Summary] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, and Army Gen Kenan Evren, head of state of Turkey, have arrived in Varna on an official visit. At Varna Airport, decorated with national flags, the guests were greeted by Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee, and by Khristo Toshkov, mayor of the city, as well as by other officials.

"In the afternoon Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Army Gen Kenan Evren visited the Institute of Hydrodynamics and the Georgi Dimitrov shipbuilding plant. They were accompanied by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council and by the officials accompanying Army Gen Kenan Evren." The two heads of state were cordially greeted by the shipbuilding workers. Yordan Dechev, director general of the shipbuilding state economic trust, briefed the guests on the construction of modern high tonnage ships and freight vessels. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and Gen Kenan Evren visited the premises and laboratories for testing ship models at the Institute of Hydrodynamics and other workshops of this important scientific research center. "The Turkish head of state signed the guest book and expressed his admiration for the progress of Bulgarian shipbuilding industry.

"This evening Khristo Toshkov, the mayor of Varna City, is giving an official dinner in honor of Army Gen Kenan Evren at the Varna Grand Hotel. Attending will be Comrade Todor Zhivkov; Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee; the ambassadors of the two countries; and the officials accompanying the Turkish head of state, as well as local officials."

End of Talks, Departure

AU271455 Sofia BTA in English 1340 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Report by BTA special correspondent]

[Text] Varna, 27 Feb (BTA) -- In the spirit of respect and understanding were held the final talks between the heads of state of Bulgaria and Turkey Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kenan Evren. Stressing their satisfaction with the progress of bilateral relations, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Kenan Evren expressed willingness to activate bilateral cooperation, especially in the field of industry, transport, power generation and agriculture. They noted that good possibilities exist for expansion of trade exchange. The two state leaders expressed their unanimous view that the efforts for strengthening goodneighbourliness in the Balkans contribute to safeguarding peace and security in Europe and the world.

The foreign ministers of the two countries, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Ilter Turkmen, signed a protocol on cancelling the restrictive statute of the Dryanovets Height, which is on Bulgarian soil, close to the Bulgaro-Turkish frontier.

At 1 o'clock sharp Army General Kenan Evren and the accompanying him officials left the country. At Varna Airport the guest was seen off by Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria and other officials. General Kenan Evren was treated to state honours.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1000 GMT on 27 February carries a similar item, adding that General Kenan Evren, Turkish head of state, was seen off at Varna Airport by "Comrade Todor Zhivkov; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council; Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Strakhil Khristov, chairman of the Varna Okrug People's Council Executive Committee; Khristo Toshkov, the mayor of Varna; leaders of the city; and many citizens."]

'Announcement' on Visit

AU011249 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Feb 82 p 1

["Joint Announcement" on the official 24-27 February visit of Gen Kenan Evren, president of Turkey, to Bulgaria]

[Text] At the invitation of Todor Zhivkov, State Council chairman of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Gen Kenan Evren, Turkey's head of state, paid Bulgaria an official visit from 24 to 27 February. He was accompanied by Ilter Turkmen, Turkey's minister of foreign affairs.

During his visit in Bulgaria the Turkish head of state visited various economic, cultural and historic objects in Sofia and Varna, and was acquainted with the achievements of the Bulgarian people.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Bulgarian side:

Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs; Milko Balev, Comrade Todor Zhivkov's chef de cabinet; Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria; Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation; Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Milen Marinov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Culture; Vladimir Gruncharov, Bulgarian ambassador to Turkey; Stoyan Venev, head of the Third Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Argir Konstantinov, Bulgaria's general consul in Istambul; and Stamat Stamatov, deputy head of the Third Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The following persons took part in the talks on the Turkish side:

Ilter Turkmen, Turkey's minister of foreign affairs; Yildrim Keskin, Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria; (Erdem Erner), ambassadors, deputy general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for political issues; (Oktay Ischen), ambassador, deputy general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for economic issues; (Nazmi Akiman), ambassador, deputy general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for issues pertaining to information and culture; (Seref Gyozyubyubun), advisor of the Turkish head of state; (Istun Dinchmen), chef de cabinet of the Turkish head of state; (Suat Tuygan), department head; (Erkan Gezer), department head; and (Gyonul Dalyanoolu), department head at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

In a spirit of mutual respect and goodneighborly understanding the chairman of the Bulgarian State Council and the Turkish head of state reviewed the present state of bilateral relations, as well as the prospects for developing them, and exchanged opinions on basic international issues.

They expressed satisfaction with the positive development of Bulgarian-Turkish relations in recent years, as well as their conviction that cooperating in the areas of economy, technology, science, tourism, culture and sports is in the interest of the two countries.

The two statesmen reviewed the possibilities of expanding bilateral cooperation in the areas of industry, transportation, energetics and agriculture. They expressed their willingness to increase the volume of the two countries' trade exchange. For this purpose they agreed to conduct meetings of representatives of the relevant ministries, business circles, and the industrial and trade chambers, at which measures will be taken for expanding economic relations and ensuring a better balance of their trade exchange.

The two sides expressed their conviction that the cooperation which is taking place within the framework of the cultural exchange programs allows the further strengthening of the understanding and mutual acquaintance of the two peoples.

During the visit an agreement was signed on revoking the status of the "drayanovets" hill.

The two sides agreed to begin within a mutually acceptable period negotiations on marking the Continental Shelf between Bulgaria and Turkey in the Black Sea.

The two leaders ascertained that the former agreements on mass emigration have been terminated and agreed within the framework of their law to review, for humanitarian reasons, and positively approve individual requests for uniting families in Bulgaria and Turkey.

The two sides will continue to cooperate in strictly applying the agreements on facilitating the transportation of passengers, vehicles and goods on the territory of Bulgaria and Turkey, and on preventing the illegal transportation of goods through the Turkish-Bulgarian border.

The two heads of state agreed that delegations of the two countries are to discuss the movement of employees of their diplomatic missions, with the view toward facilitating it on a reciprocal basis.

The two heads of state exchanged opinions on international issues of mutual interest. They expressed their concern with the exacerbation of the international situation and stressed the responsibility of all states to make efforts to remove the reasons for international tension and to preserve world peace and security.

Stressing the significance of maintaining harmonious and goodneighborly relations between the Balkan states the two heads of state expressed their conviction that the efforts for strengthening the atmosphere of confidence in the region represent a contribution to Europe's lasting peace and creative cooperation.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction with the constructive spirit and positive results of the talks.

Gen Kenan Evren, head of state of the Republic of Turkey, invited Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, to pay Turkey an official visit.

The invitation was accepted with satisfaction.

Varna, 27 February, 1982.

SOVIET CULTURAL DELEGATION DEPARTS 27 FEB

AU272012 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] The Soviet cultural delegation led by Yevgeniy Chekharin, USSR deputy minister of culture, left Bulgaria tonight. The delegation had met the leadership of the Committee for Culture and signed a cooperation protocol between the Committee for Culture and the Soviet Ministry of Culture for 1982. The delegation was seen off at the Ruse Central Railway Station by Prof Dimitur Filipov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Culture, and by the leaders of Ruse Okrug.

DPRK FOREIGN MINISTER HO TAM STOPS IN VARNA

AU011057 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Feb 82 p 8

[Text] On 23 February Ho Tam, DPRK deputy chairman of the Administrative Council and minister of foreign affairs, made a brief stop at the Varna Airport, while flying over the country. Marin Yotov, Bulgaria's deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Khristo Toshkov, Varna's mayor, were at the airport.

Choe Sang-muk, DPRK ambassador to Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL ARTICLE ATTACKS PCI

AU251802 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 82 p 6

[Editorial article: "On Dangerous Course: What Alarms Us About the Position of the PCI Leadership"]

[Text] The polemics started by the leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] under the pretext of criticism of the state of emergency in the Polish People's Republic also directly concerns our party. From positions removed from objective and communist class assessment, the PCI leadership has attacked the entire real socialism, the peace policy of the USSR and that of the other socialist countries. It thus raised questions on which our views are entirely different and downright opposite. And we soon enough and then again on various occasions expressed in our newspaper our fundamental disagreement with the PCI leadership's position and its criticism. Our party members also reacted vehemently and with understandable concern and its criticism. Our party members also reacted vehemently and with understandable concern and bitterness. Their position is reflected in numerous resolutions sent to the CPCZ Central Committee and in the letters received by our editorial office, some of which we published recently.

Czechoslovak communists are rightly asking themselves weighty questions. How to explain that the PCI leadership is relinquishing the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution and asserting that the driving force of this greatest revolution in modern history has been exhausted? That it regards real socialism as something which allegedly no longer has anything in common or almost nothing in common with socialism? That it proclaims its programmatic parting of the ways with Marxism-Leninism, that it joins the ranks of the critics of communism and thus furthers the interests and objectives of international imperialism? Where do the leading PCI representatives proceed from when they assert that from now on further social progress allegedly depends in the first place on whether one succeeds in Western Europe in forming some sort of completely new left (whose backbone is apparently to be made up of Eurocommunists and Social Democrats) which -- since the revolutionary process started by Great October, so to speak, lost its driving force -- would open a "new stage" in the development of socialism and become its sole guarantor in the future? In short, how is one to explain that the PCI leadership, in its assessment of the developments in the Polish People's Republic, in its views on the world revolutionary process and its further development, on the role of the USSR and real socialism, went as far as to find itself at great variance with the positions of the CPSU, our party and the other fraternal communist and workers parties?

To a person who has been following PCI policy for quite some time, the latest attack by its leadership on communist revolutionary values does not come as a surprise. In fact, the PCI leadership has been taking divergent positions on many weighty questions of the revolutionary and progressive movement for a number of years. However, its reaction to the events in the Polish People's Republic revealed that it has revised its entire position vis-a-vis the countries of the socialist community. In its resolution of last December, it in fact condemned the socialist system of these countries as well as these countries' present and the prospects for their development. This position was then also affirmed at the session of the PCI Central Committee this January.

It is generally known that international imperialism, with the United States at its head, has been trying in recent years to torpedo detente ininternational relations, attacking the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, all peaceable and progressive forces. It exploited the events in the Polish People's Republic from the outset by encouraging and actively organizing support for oppositon antisocialist elements, who were not hiding their counterrevolutionary interests and in all possible ways readying themselves for an open encouter [vystoupeni] with people's power. When the imposition on the state of emergency put an end to their destructive actions, it esclated its attacks on the Polish leadership, on the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

It could be expected that in a situation in which the socialist countries are the target of a broad-based fierce attack by international imperialism, the PCI leadership would responsibly assess the situation and draw from it conclusions of benefit to peace and socialism. Instead, however, it took positions which regrettably differ only little from the pronouncements of Reagan and his helpers, and in fact joined these attacks.

It is necessary to underscore that this sad fact is only some sort of logical culmination of the previous policy of the PCI's leading officials. They welcomed the Polish crisis from the outset, and let us also say here immediately that they exploited the imposition of the state of emergency in the Polish People's Republic to "settle" accounts ["vyporadat se"] with real socialism worldwide to the fullest extent. In the Polish crisis they saw the affirmation of their long-standing reservations and of their "criticism" of real socialism. That was one of the reasons why they liked Walesa and were including "Solidarity" among the three main forces -- next to the church and Polish communists -- which should codetermine the renewal of Polish society. While doing so, they were closing their eyes and ears to the fact that the "Solidarity" leaders were systematically and with escalating intensity attacking the Soviet Union and socialism as an entity, that with their purposeful preparation of a counterrevolutionary coup and seizure of power, they were discarding their mask of defenders of workers' interests and that, as the "Solidarity" congress also demonstrated, they were not at all interested in the renewal of Polish socialist society but, in the first place, in "settling accounts" with communists. They passed off escalating subversive actions of the counterrevolution as peripheral and negligible extremist excesses at the most. They did not see or simply did not want to see that all this was happening in accordance with the plans of international imperialism and of Reagan's administration, whose foreign policy strategists were convinced that in the end the Soviet Union would be unable to do anything other than "go into Poland." This then the reactionary forces intended to exploit for a frontal attack on everything that has been accomplished in recent years thanks to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in the process of international detente, for a new unbridled arms race, for an unconditional subordination of the capitalist West to the United States of America and for other objectives connected with the endeavor to restore their lost positions in the world.

The imposition of the state of emergency in the Polish People's Republic thwarted these plans of international imperialism. Reagan simply did not succeed. One cannot be surprised that because of that the aggressive circles of imperialism led by the United States launched a fierce political, economic and ideological campaign against the USSR and real socialism after the imposition of the state of emergency in the Polish People's Republic. In essence they are doing only what is natural for them. But when leading officials of one of the most important communist parties in the capitalist world, at the moment when this ferocious campaign culminates, decides, so to speak, to pour oil on the fire and complete their switch to positions which are alien and harmful to the cause of socialism and peace, this cannot go without response from the ranks of communists and not evoke profound concern.

At variance with facts and their own fairly recent analyses, the leading PCI representatives are assessing world politics from a quite incorrect viewpoint. They put NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the United States and the USSR on the same level, ascribing to the USSR more or less the same behavior and intentions. This is an aspect of the discredited "policy of blocs," which ignores the main thing -- the class content of the policy and activity of the socialist countries in international affairs. Seen from that angle, the role of the USSR has somehow shrunk to the role of a superpower which only defends and expands its "spheres of influence," conducts "power policy" (like the United States) and aggravates tension in international relations (like the United States). In this pseudo-above-class [radoby nadtridnim] and "bloc-exempt" ["mimoblokove"] viewpoint, the USSR understandably "loses" its real importance and role in the present-day world, in its social and class struggles, in the struggle for peace and against various forms of imperialist oppression.

The PCI representatives are ignoring the fact which we in our country, together with all thinking people throughout the world, underscore -- that the social progress which has been achieved on our planet in modern times in the interest of the working people and nations would be unthinkable without the USSR's existence and activity. That it is the Soviet Union which -- even at the price of its own great sacrifices -- carries the greatest part of the burden of safeguarding the security of the nations of the socialist community against the imperialist threat, and which, at the same time, is a reliable mainstay for all nations fighting for freedom and social progress. That if it were not for the Soviet Union, the imperialist bourgeoisie would keep on escalating its pressure on nations and the working people at will, and the PCI would not and could not be what it is today.

Already during the intraparty and social crisis in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69, the PCI leadership supported the opportunist line of Dubcek's so-called new course, condemned the international assistance rendered to the Czechoslovak people then by the USSR and the other socialist countries to save the threatened socialist system. However, we regarded those and later positions of the PCI bodies as their internal affair. We did nothing that could have further deteriorated relations between our parties. On the contrary, we expressed interest in their improvement and normalization.

We proceeded from what unites us and not from what divides us. In this constructive endeavor we were also strengthened by the traditions of comradely solidarity and friendship, expressed, for example, by P. Togliatti at the Ninth CPCZ Congress in 1949. "They want to depict your country as barbaric." he said at that time, referring to our common enemies, the imperialist reaction. "But we know well where their hatred comes from. It is because you have won and embarked upon a new path. Upon a path which the Italian nation has not succeeded in reaching yet. The Italians were not lacking drive and will, but they were not able to lean on a country of socialism when the forces of reactionary capitalism intervened in Italy."

From our patient efforts to restore normal relations we were discouraged neither by the pressure put on by the PCI leadership in helping in the so-called dissidents, nor by such incidents as the case some time ago of PCI member F. Ziadar who -- in cooperation with a representative office [zastupitelsky urad] of a bourgeois state -- contacted some of these dissidents and supplied them with money and other things, and was helping them in their actions, which were at variance with our valid laws. Unfortunately, our interest in improving and normalizing relations has never met with the PCI's identical response. In this respect, for example, the reaction of one of the members of the PCI leadership was typcial when -- after hesitating for a moment -- he said when asked during an interview at the CPCZ Central Committee why they pursue such a policy: We do not believe that the CPCZ leadership will last.

The latest positions of the leading PCI representatives, defined in connection with the developments in Poland, showed that their reluctance to improve and normalize relations with our party was no coincidence, that it was an organic part of the political line which has now resulted in an open attack on the USSR and all real socialism.

The documents of the extraordinary January session of the PCI Central Committee claim that not only Czechoslovakia but also Poland and other countries "had been forced to take over the Soviet model in all main respects," that "a really democratic development of these societies was made impossible." The resolution of the PCI leadership published in the daily L'UNITA on 30 December 1981 even contains such an egregious assertion that "their indentity had been deadened by various means." One has to add that we are not hearing slander of this caliber for the first time. The information media serving imperialism are repeating them ad infinitum. However, what is important here is the fact that for the first time it is being carried by the party's official daily which, moreover, passes it off as its own assessment resulting from its study and analysis.

What can we say about it? In the first place that we, Czechoslovak communists, fully identify with the Leninist view: There is no model, and therefore also not a Soviet "model" which the rest of the countries are mandated to accept. There is the comprehensive and longstanding experience of the Soviet Union and its people in the construction of socialism and communism, an experience which includes features that are generally valid as well as specific features provided by the individual historical characteristics of this or that country and the concrete historical conditions of their revolutions. We have never tried to hide that we have always strived to make use of the great wealth of the Soviet experience as well as the experience of the other socialist countries and Marxist-Leninist parties to resolve our problems and tasks. This, of course, does not mean that we want to claim in a simplified manner that in our country everything has always been orderly and without problems. In the more than 30-year history of socialist construction in our country, there have been cases of schematic and mechanical copying of Soviet experience, just as there was a period when the people in charge were rejecting any Soviet experience outright.

However, one has to remind those who are pushing speculations about an imposed Soviet "model" that the construction of socialism has its origins in the struggles and work of our people and is the result of our nations' modern history. The CPCZ has gained the leading role in our society through its longstanding struggle against capitalist exploitation and for the interests of the working people, for their political, social and nationality demands. During the period of Munich, when the bourgeoisie betrayed the fundamental interests of the Czech and Slovak nations, communists showed themselves to be real patriots. They proved themselves as determined fighters against Nazi occupiers at a time when many representatives of the bourgeoisie assidiously collaborated with them. Creative application of Marxism-Leninism allowed them to take the lead in the antifascist liberation struggle and in the process of its growth into a national and democratic revolution. They were the organizers and foremost fighters in the Slovak National Uprising and in the May uprising of the Czech people.

These are thus the actual deep roots of our party's leading position in Czechoslovak society. We are proud that, during the time of war and fascist occupation of our country as well as in subsequent years until now, we have been waging all our struggles and developing all our efforts in close alliance and coordination with the Soviet Union. We are well aware that, were it not for the Soviet people's heroic struggle against Hitlerite fascism, which had so many victims, there would be no freedom, no national democratic revolution and also no socialism in our country. We have also never made it a secret that, if for no other reason, because of this the Soviet Union has always been for us the main source of inspiration in building a socialist society. For a Marxist-Leninist, this is a matter of course. Only those who themsleves think in dogmatic and doctrinaire terms are capable of construing propositions about a Soviet "model" being imposed in some way on other countries.

Characteristic of our political system is the National Front as a political expression of the workers class' bonds with the broadest strata of the Czechoslovak people. The National Front, too, has grown from its domestic roots as an expression of the endeavor to establish a broadly based bloc of all democratic forces against the threat of fascism. We are convinced that this broad alliance of social organizations and political parties creates the best possible conditions for asserting the interests and promoting the activity of various segments and strata of our society. In creating these conditions, it is certainly superior to that political system that subordinates the working people's essential interests to the requirements of the domestic and foreign capitalist monopolies.

The PCI leadership describes our political system as undemocratic since there is allegedly no place for "political pluralism" in it. While doing so, it completely disregards the fact that, fortunately, the basic prerequisite for "pluralism," which they are forcing on us in the nature of an ultimatum -- the existence of social classes and groups with sharply diverse and thus deeply antagonistic class interests -- ceased to exist in our country long ago.

In our country the fundamental interests of the workers class, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and other social groups are essentially identical. Our two nations, the Czech and the Slovaks, and the ethnic minorities living in our republic, too, are linked by fraternal bonds and the common goals of socialist development. It is precisely this identity of fundamental interests that is the source of our people's political and moral unity as epitomized by the National Front. This unity does not at all mean some sort of uniformity, which is allegedly another grave "sin" of real socialism. It is a unity that does not suppress in any way the unique features of the forces that make it up. On the contrary, it respects them and is itself in fact their product.

Should we perhaps liquidate these gains of revolutionary social transformations and again create a bourgeoise, large estate owners and the middle class only to accommodate our critics who cannot conceive of democracy in any other but its traditional bourgeois form? It is obvious that in this case the PCI leadership speaks about something that, admittedly, has its justified function in capitalist societies but which, in our conditions, would be an outright anachronism. Democracy according to the patterns of "political pluralism" in our country is simply something that was overcome long ago; it is old political rubbish and therefore inconceivable for our society.

Of course, we do not simultaneously claim that our political system is functioning without errors. We regard its continuous improvement and the deepening of socialist democracy and of the working people's participation in the management and administration of social affairs as a weighty and lastingly topical task. However, one thing is uncontroversial: The basic arrangement of this system has asserted itself in the more than 30-year history of our socialist construction. It anables the broadest strata of our people to actively participate in social life. In a bourgeois state such participation is impossible. The shortcomings cropping up in the functioning of this system, the mistakes and deformations which occurred in the past cannot substantially change this basic appraisal. In fact, our judgment is also confirmed in practice, by the results we have achieved in resolving both the inherited problems as well as those which cropped up anew. But we have never believed that this somehow empowers us to give out advice to the communists in other countries on how and what to do, and even less to demand that they shape their policy according to our example. We wish the leading PCI representatives would act and proceed in the same manner.

In the last few years the PCI leadership has been increasing succumbing to and retreating before the pressure and propaganda of imperialism. As an example of this we may also cite its attitude toward the coarse, slanderous campaigns developed, one after the other, against us in the Italy of the last few years by anticommunist communications media and certain bourgeois political figures, in connection with terrorism in general, and with the terrorist activities of the so-called Red Brigades in particular. Without the smallest proof they senselessly accused us again and again of supporting, and even directing, Italian terrorism. It was typical that even in this instance the leading PCI figures adopted an alibi-filled and deeply false objectivist attitude, probably in accordance with the slogan "everything is possible," which was adding grist to the mill of these campaigns. They pretended not to know about our cardinal and unambiguous aversion toward political terrorism, an aversion that is also part and parcel of our Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory. We have been stressing from the very beginning that contemporary terrorism is the fruit of deep and unresolvable conflicts in bourgeois society. It was born in this society; it is operating in it; in brief, it belongs to its world. And if somebody really wants to put an end to it, he must seek its causes and origins where they truly are, and not in our country.

Obviously, the leading PCI representatives are not interested in the unity of the international communist movement. They are expressly declaring that their party has no "ideological, political or organizational commitments" toward the other communist parties.

The manner in which they attacked the CPSU, the Polish communists and our own party is quite incompatible with the comradely relations between communist parties. When the Soviet PRAVDA reacted to their attacks, they called this an attempt to "excommunicate" them from the communist and workers movement. Of course, the truth is that nobody is expelling them. It is the PCI leadership itself that is retreating from revolutionary principles, thus estranging itself [vzdalovat se] from the international communist movement.

The PCI is a party of great revolutionary traditions. Its origins lie in the movement inspired by the Great October Socialist Revolution; and if today its bosses are withdrawing from this tradition, they are acting contrary to this legacy and betraying it. At the same time, apart from the general and vague theses on the so-called third road, nobody is capable of getting them to say precisely what positive things they actually want, what kind of society, what kind of socialism they are striving for. But if they are now negating the decisive role of the USSR and of world socialism in the battle for peace and social progress, this means that they are objectively playing into the hands of the class adversary and of his entire military-political organization, regardless of their own personal intentions and plans. We know from history that he who says "A" must usually also say "B" because the political fighting has its own inexorable and harsh logic.

Since the Czechoslovak communists regard it as their continuing international duty to defend the main anti-imperialist force -- world socialism -- they are raising, resolutely and emphatically, their voices against the erroneous and harmful positions of the PCI leadership. At the same time they believe in the healthy forces of this great party, at whose cradle stood such outstanding revolutionaries as A. Gramsci and P. Togliatti; they also believe in the ability of these forces to overcome the current positions with patient and purposeful activity.

RUDE PRAVO EDITORIAL ON FEB 1948 ANNIVERSARY

AU262150 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 82 p 1

[Editorial: "February's Historical Legacy"]

[Excerpts] It has become a good and deep-rooted tradition that the celebrations of the February [1948] anniversary are for us communists not just a recapitulation of the events of those historic days, some sort of retrospective view of the past. They are an opportunity to assess and ponder how we are safeguarding and developing the February legacy, and to verify from the viewpoint of historical experience the correctness of our approach toward resolving present-day outstanding and topical problems. They also provide the scope for reacting to some voices casting doubts on the general validity of the principles of Leninist teaching on socialist revolution and building a socialist society, and of the principles whose correctness we can bear out with the experience of our 35-year-long practice and with the real results of the development of our socialist society.

It is characteristic that when explaining the causes and course of the glorious February victory, we met and are meeting with convulsive attempts by our ideological adversaries to present the fundamental watershed in our modern history as a complex of coincidences, as a consequence of the dilettantish errors of bourgeois politicians or even as the Soviet Union's "forcible intervention" in our internal affairs. Such views convict those who spread them, because they involve either an ignorance of elementary facts or, and this apparently is the more frequent motivation, they involve attempts to excuse in an acceptable manner the defeat of the reaction and divert attention from the real driving forces of a development which culminated with our people's historical victory.

The plans of imperialists to extricate Czechoslovakia from the ranks of young peoples' democratic states, their idea that it will also be possible in Czechoslovakia -- as was the case earlier in France and Italy -- to maneuver communists out of the government and thus gain a strategically advantageous position on the very threshold of the USSR did not succeed, because -- for historical reasons -- they could not succeed. Also, the Czechoslovak-Soviet agreement on mutual assistance and postwar cooperation was here an unignorable foreign policy factor, an agreement which was an important result of the policy of the CPSU's Moscow leadership and which was, after all, making a possible military intervention of the Western states in our internal affairs too risky. Thus the friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union has made it possible for our people to freely decide on their own will in favor of the CPCZ program and our country's political future.

The CPCZ's postwar course disproves from the very foundation the theses of our ideological adversaries which say that we have mechanically copied the Soviet model that does not correspond to our conditions and interests. It is precisely the 1945-48 period which provides convincing proof of the creative application of the generally valid principles of Leninist teaching to our country's concrete and specific conditions, a proof of sensitive respect for national needs and peculiarities, and of using favorable domestic policy and international preconditions. It is natural -- and we have never denied this fact -- that we have drawn and still are drawing on the wealth of the CPSU's experience, from which we have learned quite a lot. After all, it was precisely the party of Lenin which organized the first victorious socialist revolution in history and the successful, peaceful construction of the Soviet country. The entire international and workers movement, all true revolutionaries in the world are today learning from its experience.

The period that has elapsed since April 1969, since the election of Comrade Gustav Husak to head the party, today constitutes more than 1/3 of the 34-year journey since the legendary February days, a journey which has also in a practical manner affirmed one bitterly acquired experience: Any deviation from revolutionary principles, from proletarian internationalism, attempts to unilaterally underscore specific national peculiarities to the detriment of the common cause; any disparagement of and casting doubts on the generally valid conclusions of Leninism always cause unhealthy complications within our movement. They are grist for the mill of our class adversary and weaken the political and action unity of all present-day revolutionary forces. The observance and respect of Leninist principles leads to successes. From the knowledge of this mutual interdependence, from drawing correct conclusions from this historically verified truth originate many positive results, which the international communist and workers movement -- whose inseparable and active part is also our CPCZ -- has accomplished with joint forces in past years.

CZECH TRADE UNION CONGRESS HELD 26-28 FEB

Report on First Day

LD262236 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Correspondent Lubos Lidicky report]

[Excerpt] The delegates are just now dispersing from the first day of the Czech Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which was also attended by a delegation of the CPCZ Central Committee led by Presidium member Milos Jakes, and by a delegation of the Central Council of Trade Unions led by Comrade Karel Hoffmann.

During the 4-hour discussion, the delegates heard a report delivered by Vaclav Bezel, chairman of the Czech Trade Union Council.

The report mentioned in particular the fact that the council has succeeded in developing the functions of the trade unions in a more balanced way and in increasing their influence on the economy and on the material and social needs of the working class and other workers.

Great attention was also paid in the report to social policy; it mentioned in detail improvement of the working environment and prevention of accidents.

Public Checking [Verejne Proverky] and new working methods, as well as the three-stage introduction of checking, substantially contributed to the 20 percent reduction in the accident rate.

As we heard here at the congress from the congress platform, in the health care of workers the trade union bodies concentrated mainly on improving and extending medical services in factories. The results achieved by the trade unions in the CSSR are proof of the gradual but consistent implementation of the lasting values and principles of socialist trade unions. These results were achieved due to the fact that the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement promotes the leading role of the Communist Party, and that the party devotes constant attention to the work of the trade unions.

Jakes, Hoffmann Addresses

LD271720 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 27 Feb (CTK) -- The Czech Trade Union Congress, which opened here on Friday, continued on Saturday with a debate, and Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Milos Jakes was among the first to address the (?1,100) delegates representing over five million trade unionists in the Czech Socialist Republic.

Milos Jakes, who headed the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee delegation to the congress, said that "it was not by chance that the reaction strove, in the interest of asserting their anti-popular targets, to disrupt the unity of the Czechoslovak trade union movement before February 1948, and that they attempted this again in the 1968 period of profound social crisis in Czechoslovakia."

Speaking about lessons to be drawn by the trade union movement, he said: "The example of fraternal Poland shows the huge danger threatening socialism and the interests of the working people when the unity of the working class is disrupted. The enemies of socialism used the mistakes and shortcomings in the management of society and the weakening of the (United Workers') Party and its links with the people to split the united trade union movement by way of 'Solidarity' and other anti-socialist organizations, and strove to liquidate socialism in Poland."

Milos Jakes went on to stress that "we fully support the measures adopted by the (?Polish Peoples) Republic on the basis of its legitimate rights and in harmony with the Constitution to strengthen the socialist order and legality, and in defense of the vital interests of the Polish people.

"We reject actions of the U.S. and NATO states aimed at interference in the internal affairs of Poland, their political pressure and discriminatory measures which are the grossest violation of international norms. We shall continue to support Polish comrades in their struggle to strengthen socialism," Milos Jakes said.

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, took the floor to inform the delegates about the 10th World Trade Union Congress (?recently) held in Havana.

"The congress will go down in the history of the international trade union movement by its clear formulation of the main targets of the world trade union movement in this decade, by showing again convincingly the integral character of the struggle of the working people of all countries for basic class interests, social progress, democracy, socialism and peace, by creating prerequisites for further development of cooperation and action unity, and by being conducive to stronger authority and prestige of the World Federation of Trade Unions in the international trade union and workers' movement," he said.

"It was confirmed in Havana that trade unionists are clearly aware that the prime vital interest of the working people of the whole world is the safeguarding of peace, that the main danger to world peace are monopolies, imperialist states, and above all the Reagan administration, and that the main shield of peace is the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

"The [word indistinct] the Czech Trade Union Congress confirms that the international revolutionary and progressive trade union movement can also in the future rely on trade unionists in Czechoslovakia," [words indistinct].

Officials Elected

LD281652 Prague CTK in English 1601 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Prague, 28 Feb (CTK) -- Vaclav Bezel was re-elected chairman of the Czech Trade Union Council at the final meeting of the Czech Trade Union Congress on Sunday.

The congress also elected secretaries of the Czech Trade Union Council -- Frantisek Brabec, Milan Mraz and Marie Rozickova and the chairman of the Audit Commission, Josef Horky.

The meeting was again attended by a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, led by Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Milos Jakes, and a delegation of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions led by its chairman Karel Hoffmann, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium.

The congress approved a resolution and letters of greetings to the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Trade Union Council.

In the letter to the party Central Committee, the delegates assured its members that trade unionists in the Czech Socialist Republic will fulfill responsibly all tasks set by the party's 16th congress.

The final speech was delivered by Vaclav (?Bezel) who stressed that the deliberations of the congress were marked by an identity of views, frankness, and awareness of trade union co-responsibility for the Czechoslovak socialist society.

Congress Issues Resolution

LD010524 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2200 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] The Czech Congress of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement ended in Prague today with the approval of its final documents.

The congress resolution calls for an expansion of the economic function of trade unions, an increase in care for working people and the development of socialist education and politico-organizational work by all trade union organs and organizations in the Czech Socialist Republic. The document also attempts to organize more consistently socialist competition of individuals, collectives and brigades of socialist workers of similar professions so that the results of the competition can be compared and assessed.

This is to be done within individual enterprises and with the help of managerial workers. In organizing labor initiatives and socialist competition, trade union bodies must not allow the penetration of elements of formalism and bureaucratism. Regarding the care for working people, the resolution binds the trade union bodies and organizations to heighten social control over the working environment, improve medical care and contribute to further progress in enterprise canteens, above all in production units and for workers of second and third shifts.

CZECH SOCIALIST YOUTH UNION REPLACES CHAIRMAN

AU261012 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Feb 82 p 2

[CTK report: "Session of the Czech Socialist Youth Union Central Committee"]

[Summary] The results of interviews with members, the course of annual members meetings, the state of preparations for the forthcoming congress of the Czech Socialist Republic's Socialist Youth Union [SSM] and cadre issues were on the agenda of the 19th session of the Czech SSM Central Committee, held in Prague on 24 February. "The Presidium of the Czech SSM Central Committee recommended to the plenum to release Jaroslav Jeneral from the posts of chairman, member of the Presidium and Secretariat, and member of the Central Committee of the Czech SSM. Miroslav Slouf, hitherto chairman of the Prague SSM City Committee, was unanimously elected new chairman of the Czech SSM Central Committee."

SLOVAK PRAVDA ON INDUSTRIAL ROBOTS AT EXHIBITION

AU260904 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 24 Feb 82 p 2

[Commentary by Jozef Supsak in the column "We Comment": "In the Line of Progress"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday three specialized international exhibitions -- robot, welding and autoprogress -- came to an end at the Brno Fair. A total of 80 foreign and 58 domestic participants had presented exhibits there.

The robot international exhibition of industrial robots, the third exhibition in line, was aimed at acquainting the international public withthe achieved standards and extent of robotization both in the CSSR and abroad, and at thus promoting a speedier implementation of robots in practice; in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, 3,000 industrial robots and manipulators (pram) are to be introduced in the CSSR into eliminate strenous and health-impairing work; by the end of 1990 the figure should be 13,000. Despite the absence of exhibitors and producers from Japan, the United States and France, the exhibits of the CSSR, USSR, Bulgaria, Poland and Sweden (Asea firm) graphically showed the progressive trends in the creation of automated technological working places and production systems with the use of industrial robots and manipulators. The experts' attention was attracted to the three manipulators jointly designed by the Metal Industry Research Institute [Vukov] in Presov and the Soviet enterprises Enims Moscow, Niisl Oddessa and Enikmash Voronezh, which are designed on a common Czechoslovak-Soviet component base. Another exhibit has confirmed that we have skillful researchers also in the Piestany institute for the development of engineering consumer goods, who developed an industrial robot for the surface treatment of products and for spraying varnishes. The further production of this robot is being prepared by the Slovak fixtures plant in Myjava. Among the foreign exhibits, the Pzo Stankoimport plant from the USSR made a special contribution: for the first time it exhibited in Brno certain types of industrial robots produced in the Soviet Union. The Kontur-002 industrial robot won many admirers by its blueprint solution and a very tasteful design.

1982 ECONOMIC PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH POLAND

LD282134 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1833 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Feb (ADN) -- As a result of talks between government delegations of the GDR and Polish People's Republic, a protocol was signed yesterday evening [date as received] in Warsaw by the two countries' deputy foreign trade ministers, Dietrich Lemke and Wldyslaw Gwiazda, on trade and services in 1982. Present were the foreign trade minister of the Polish People's Republic of Tadeusz Nestorowicz, the GDR ambassador to the Polish People's republic, Horst Neubauer, and other representatives of the two countries.

On the basis of the results of the two countries' coordination of their economic plans during the 1981-85 period and the talks between the GDR and Polish Government delegations on 28-29 January, reciprocal deliveries were agreed in the annual protocol which will help to supply the economies and populations of the GDR and the Polish People's Republic.

The GDR's main exports include equipment for the electrical engineering and electronic industry, office machinery, products from the scientific instrument manufacturing industry, machine tools and agricultural machinery, open-cast mine equipment, textile machines, spare parts for machines and equipment, potash fertilizers and other chemical products. The Polish People's Republic will export to the GDR mainly electrical engineering and electronic products, conveyor equipment for open-cast mines, equipment for the chemical and metallurgical industries, wood-processing machines, hard coal, hard-coal coke, sulphur and other chemical products.

The 1982 annual protocol provides for the continuation of important supplies resulting from cooperation and specialization between the two countries, including food processing machines process instrumentation and control engineering equipment, antifriction bearings, cables and lines as well as metallurgical products and pharmaceuticals. The heads of the GDR and Polish delegations expressed their conviction that the concluded agreements will be an important contribution toward consolidating the political and economic cooperation between the two countries.

On the occasion of the signing of the annual protocol, Deputy GDR Foreign Trade Minister Dietrich Lemke was received for a discussion by the foreign trade minister of the Polish People's Republic, Tadeusz Nestorowicz.

SOVIET, POLISH SAILORS TAKE PART IN MEETINGS

Visit to Academy

AU261230 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Feb 82 p 2

[Text] Stralsund (ADN) -- On Wednesday a cordial meeting took place between future naval and ship's engine officers of the Baltic Fleet of the USSR, the Polish Navy and the People's Navy during a visit at the modern training facilities in the "Karl Liebknecht" Naval Academy. The guests from Leningrad and Gdynia were particularly interested in navigation training and radar simulators as well as in the special displays [fachkabinette] of the automatic control technology and the naval tactics. They also visited the musuem room [traditionszimmer] and the sport center of the military training institute.

During the friendship meeting, which will last for several days, the comrades-in-arms will exchange their experiences in the competition for implementing the class assignment and will study methods for leisure time planning. The hosts, for instance, can report that in the past training year one in three of the future officers got the title of best sailor. The meeting of the members of the allied Baltic navies will end with the visit of historic monuments, a reception by the Stralsund mayor and a concert of the comradeship-in-arms.

Ships Dock at Rostock

LD271626 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1330 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Rostock, 27 Feb (ADN) -- Fighting ships of the USSR Baltic Fleet and of the Polish Navy called at a GDR People's Navy base on Saturday for the traditional visit during the "brotherhood-in-arms week." The sailors of the three allied socialist Baltic fleets intend to celebrate the day of the National People's Army of the GDR (1 March) together. The program plans competitions between different combat sectors and between specialists, as well as sporting competitions. During the meeting, the brothers-in-arms will exchange experiences on the joint military protection of socialism and peace. On the fighting ships sailors are expecting workers and young people from the GDR Coastal Bezirk. In talks with the crews, the visitors can aquaint themselves with the high level of combat readiness.

FDJ, FRG YOUTH GROUP DISCUSS NATO, POLAND

LD271706 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Feb (ADN) -- Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central Council, today met in Berlin with Ingo Franz and Rolf Pohlhausen, acting federal youth leaders of the FRG Young Nature Lovers of Germany (NFDJ), and the delegation they are heading, for a talk. Egon Krenz briefed the guests on the tasks of the FDJ for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. He said that since its foundation the GDR has been waging an active peace struggle alongside the Soviet Union. Here the young generation have always been among the vanguard. Today, too, millions of young people are demanding: for the sake of humanity, which must survive, do away with the NATO missiles decision. The FDJ and the NFDJ also strongly opposed a policy of confrontation and arms drive and called for the rescinding of the NATO missiles decision.

Ingo Franz and Rolf Pohlhausen stated that the NFDJ are directing their work towards strengthening efforts against the deployment of new U.S. medium-range missiles in the FRG, toward involvement in the manifold initiatives for the safeguarding of peace and toward fighting for the implementation of the political and social rights of youth in the FRG.

In a joint communique, the FDJ and the NFDJ reaffirmed, "in complete agreement, that in the present particularly aggravated situation there is nothing more important for youth organizations from states with different social systems than to contribute actively to the preservation of peace." Both youth organizations strongly oppose all efforts "to replace peaceful coexistence with confrontation and to oppose the policy of peace, detente, the halting of the arms race and disarmament and also the expansion of international cooperation with a policy of the arms drive and the revival of the cold war."

The FDJ and the NFDJ support the Soviet Union's proposals for the complete abolition of the nuclear weapons targeted on Europe. They expect from the Madrid CSCE session the convening of a conference on building confidence and promoting security measures and disarmament in Europe. In view of the particularly aggravated international situation, the two organizations stressed that the further development of normal relations between the GDR and the FRG can make an important contribution to the safeguarding of peace. During the talks the two delegations exchanged views on how youth tourism between the FRG and GDR can be expanded.

The communique also says: "The representatives of both youth organizations reject any interference in the internal affairs of and any boycott measures against the People's Republic of Poland. Both sides strongly oppose any attempt to use developments in Poland as an excuse for exacerbating confrontation and the arms drive and for ending the policy of detente. The NFDJ and the FDJ reiterate their strong protest against the U.S. threats of intervention against Cuba and Nicaragua and against other Latin American countries. They proclaim anew their solidarity with the liberation movement in El Salvador."

YUGOSLAV ASSEMBLY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

LD261946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1601 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Feb (ADN) -- A delegation of the Yugoslav Federal Assembly, led by its president and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav League of Communists, Dragoslav Markovic, today ended a 4-day visit to the GDR. The guests were given a cordial farewell at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo.

During the delegation's visit, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, received the Yugoslav parliamentarians. During the talk to the two sides paid tribute to the high level of friendly relations between the two parties and countries. On international issues, Erich Honecker and Dragoslav Markovic stressed that in the present situation nothing is more important than safeguarding peace. The two politicians both support ending the arms race and concrete disarmament measures. Dragoslav Markovic also had talks with Horst Sindermann and Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. On the last day of their visit the guests exchanged experiences with GDR parliamentarians.

AXEN, LUXEMBOURG CP CHIEF DISCUSS WORLD ISSUES

LD262124 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1639 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Feb (ADN) -- The chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, Rene Urbany, had a friendly exchange of views in Berlin on Friday with Hermann Axen, SED Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, on current questions of the policy of the two parties.

In view of the aggravation of the international situation caused by the policy of confrontation and arms drive of U.S. imperialism, the two politicians emphasized the great responsibility of communists and all peace-loving forces in thwarting by resolution the adventurist imperialist plans, and pushing effective measures for arms limitation and disarmament. At the same time, they regard the prevention of the stationing of new U.S. missiles in Western Europe as the most urgent task for safeguarding peace. In this context they stressed the extreme importance of the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress and of the new comprehensive proposals of the USSR for durably safeguarding peace.

The SED and the Luxembourg Communist Party agreed that the large-scale anticommunist and anti-Soviet incitement campaign conducted by imperialism calls for the continued consolidation of the unity of action of the communist movement. They affirm their unshakable solidarity with the Polish People's Republic in its struggle for the consolidation of the socialist system and thus of peace and security in Europe. Both parties will continue to deepen their fraternal relations on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

ITALIAN-GDR TECHNICAL COMMISSION MEETS IN ROME

LD270738 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Rome, 26 Feb (ADN) -- The second meeting of the mixed commission on the implementation of the agreement between the GDR and Italian Governments on scientific-technical cooperation ended in Rome on Friday. The two sides paid tribute to the progress made in developing relations in the scientific-technical field and discussed opportunities for expanding further mutually advantageous cooperation. A protocol and working program for 1982-83 were signed. Cooperation is planned in the fields of electrical engineering and electronics, in the use of lignite and in the fields of automation technology and agriculture. During the discussions the head of the GDR delegation, Paul Bilke, director general in the Ministry for Science and Technology, met the Italian minister for scientific research, Dr Gian Carlo Tesini, and the president of the National Research Council, Prof Ernesto Quagliariello.

SINDERMANN PRESENTS HONORS AT BERLIN CEREMONY

LD261602 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1248 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 26 Feb (ADN) -- Outstanding performances in the all-round strengthening of the GDR and in work for peace and international cooperation were honored with high state awards in Berlin today. The chairman of the GDR State Council approved the awards on the recommendation of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the Council of Ministers Presidium to meritorious individuals and work teams. Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the State Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, presented the awards on behalf of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council.

At a festive ceremony in the State Council building, Horst Sinderman presented proven representatives of the labor movement, scientists and cultural workers, workers from factories and institutes and members of the armed forces with the Karl Marx Order, the Star of International Friendship Order, the Clasp of Honor to the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold, the Patriotic Order of Merit and the Banner of Labor Order. The ceremony was attended by members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo and other personalities. Among those awarded the Karl Marx Order was Prof Dr Erich Paterna, professor Emeritus of Berlin's Humboldt University. Writer Harold Hauser was one of those awarded the Star of International Friendship in gold. Singer and Czechoslovak citizen Rudolf Asmus of the Berlin Comic Opera, and caricaturist Oliver Harrington, a U.S. citizen, were among these who received the Star of International Friendship in silver. Prof Manfred von Ardenne, head of the Dresden Research Institute, was awarded the Clasp of Honor to the Patriotic Order of Merit in gold.

LEADERS ATTEND FUNERAL OF ADMIRAL VERNER

LD270616 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Today, at a Berlin funeral, final honor was paid to Adm Waldemar Verner, who died at the age of 67. Bidding farewell to the member of the SED Central Committee and general secretary of the GDR Committee for European Security and Cooperation were his immediate relatives, his wife, his children and his brother, Paul Verner, together with fellow combatants and friends. The mourners included the members of the SED Central Committee Politburo Hermann Axen, Joachim Herrmann and Army Gen Erich Mielke.

In a eulogy, Defense Minister Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann hailed the work of the communist, officer and statesman, Adm Waldemar Verner. Minister Hoffmann stated, he had a considerable hand in writing the history of the military policy of the SED and of the People's Army. It had been his life's task to blend the patriotic and internationalistic education of fighting personalities with the struggle for a high level of combat readiness. After the funeral ceremony, the urn containing Verner's ashes was buried with military honors in the pergola of the central cemetery in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde.

TRADE UNION FOUNDS NEW BEZIRK ORGANIZATION

DWO 023 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1830 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Summary] The Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk organization of the industrial trade union for miners and energy workers was founded in Frankfurt/Oder today. According to a spokesman of the new bezirk organization, the long-term plans envisage Frankfurt/Oder as "an energy bezirk." For this reason, it was necessary to "merge the three pillars of the economy -- water, energy and coal -- into a joint bezirk executive board of energy and mining." He also said that it is the main task of the new organization, which has 4,700 members, to insure "for the first time supplies to the people, industry and agriculture" and to utilize domestic raw materials effectively within the framework by "the introduction of scientific-technical progress in our works and installations." Initial plans provide for the reduction in crude brown coal consumption by 16,000 tons.

FIRING ORDERS FOR BORDER TROOPS REPORTED

LD271910 Hamburg DPA in German 1556 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Berlin, 27 Feb (DPA) -- The BERLINER MORGENPOST in its Sunday issue publishes what it calls one of the "best-kept secrets" of the GDR -- the text of the firing orders of the GDR border troops. According to the newspaper, it is designated "Instruction 018/0/008 -- Mission of the Border Troops to Secure the State Border -- Use of Firearms."

According to the newspaper, the instruction says, among other things, "those who are involved in border protection may use firearms at their own discretion if persons do not obey calls or instructions try to break through the border of the GDR.... persons in vehicles do not heed properly executed stop signals, have broken through, removed or driven round barriers and are clearly attempting to break through the state frontier." Also: "Firearms can be fired direclty at the target without prior warning or warning shot if an attack is under way on units of the armed forces, on other state, social or economic institutions, on the frontier guard himself or on other persons and cannot be prevented or averted any other way."

The newspaper says that the firing orders also stress that the injured are only to receive first aid provided that it "does not interfere with the execution of urgent tasks" and that firearms are not to be used if "the persons appear to be children (up to 14 years of age)." Nor should allies, diplomats or airplanes be shot at. "Those who are fatally injured are to be brought out of areas which can be observed by the other side..."

CONTINUED REPORTAGE ON GDR PEACE MOVEMENT

PM261509 Paris LE FIGARO in French 23 Feb 82 p 4

[Jean-Paul Picaper report: "GDR: Pacifist Wave Attacks Militarism"]

[Text] Berlin -- The NATO headquarters in Brussels has been inundated with postcards from East European countries: Since mid-December, it has received 53,000 postcards from young Soviets protesting against the arms race. This campaign is not spontaneous: It is being organized by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the Soviet communist youth organ. But it is double-edged. In the GDR, the most militarized state in the Soviet bloc because of its geographical position, many young people seem to think that the smell of gunpowder is the same everywhere, whether it comes from the East or from the West.

Over 5,000 young people gathered at a "peace forum" about 10 days ago at the church of the Holy Cross (Kreuzkirche) in Dresden at the time of a ceremony commemorating the Anglo-American bombing that destroyed the town 37 years ago, causing tens of thousands of casualties among the civilian population.

Later on, some of them gathered in front of the Church of Our Lady (Frauenkirche) in Dresden, where they lit candles. The first silent march, on a smaller scale, had left from that spot in November. The Protestant Church in the GDR is channeling these movements while showing more understanding for them than the communist authorities seem to want to tolerate. Communist Secretary of State for Church Affairs, Klaus Gysi, did in fact acknowledge the purity of the pacifists' intentions but he refused categorically their request that military service be replaced by a "social service of peace" (LE FIGARO 31 October 1981). This apprehension on the part of the authorities is justified, for a fair number of the Dresden pacifists wore an unusual badge on their sleeves, a black tank overstamped with a red "no entry" sign. This can be construed as meaning "stop war," but also as "stop the communism of tanks."

Marxist historians in the GDR and the FRG never, of course, miss an opportunity of denouncing, and quite rightly so, the Anglo-American war crime of 13-14 February 1945. The Dresden demonstrators were therefore quite in order as far as doctrine is concerned. Yet why were they protesting about tanks and not bombers?

In communist Germany, pacifism must be careful to be seen as having an "ideological cover" to get round the Criminal Code, like for example those young Christians in the GDR who have taken as their symbol a statue presented by the Soviet Union to the United Nations representing a sword beaten into a plowshare. Or like "the Berlin Appeal: Make Peace Without Arms," which was drafted by the East Berlin pastor Reiner Eppelman and 35 other persons, has been signed since then by 200 to 300 sympathizers, and calls for the withdrawal of all nuclear weapons from Germany, starting with American arms, and refers to the Potsdam agreement, the cornerstone of Soviet doctrine.

Beyond Anti-Americanism

The police, of course, order the young Christians to remove their badges but do not arrest them. Pastor Eppelman was interrogated for 48 hours -- the maximum length of time a person can be held in custody -- by the security police, and then released. The regime seems still to be hesitating. It strikes in isolated cases, with no witnesses. Sometimes, news of an incident leaks out, like the arrest of a young man from East Berlin during the NEUES DEUTSCHLAND festival (the East German equivalent of the L'HUMANITE festival in June 1981. This unidentified male had shouted out to a group of uniformed "Young Pioneers" demonstrating how to drive miniature Russian tanks, aimed at teaching children about tank warfare, that they were irresponsible. The "Vopos" [People's Police] threw him to the ground and concealed him from about 50 spectators who had run to the spot, before taking him away, probably bound hand and foot, in a police car with the license plate "VP 003158."

The forced "breakdown" of the East-West conference of intellectuals for peace, which was allowed to take place on 14 December last year in a luxurious East Berlin hotel, due to the dissident Robert Havemann's refusal to participate (Havemann apparently accused the organizers of the conference of having compromised too much with the Soviet services) only further high-lighted this inadequacy. Lastly, the disintegration of the anti-American pacifist movement in the West following the coup in Warsaw is also rebounding in the East.

The principal factor is nonetheless an internal one, namely, the growing pressure brought to bear on the public in the East by the military factor. Indeed, for the first time, 16-year-old East German schoolchildren are this week having to take a "military exam" called "The March of Brothers in Arms."

BRIEFS

MALAYSIAN AMBASSADOR -- On Friday Ismail Razali, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Malaysia, was received for a farewell visit by Paul Verner, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council. At the talk Paul Verner stressed the need for cooperation and constructive dialogue, and expressed the wish to continue to develop relations between the GDR and Malaysia in the interest of maintaining and consolidating peace. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Feb 82 p 22 AU]

UN AMBASSADOR -- Ambassador Gerd Hoehne, permanent representative of the GDR at the United Nations and other international organizations in Vienna, presented his credentials to Rahman Khane, executive director of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Feb 82 p 2 AU]

COOPERATION WITH CSSR, USSR -- Twenty-three enterprises from the CSSR, USSR and GDR are participating in a joint design office for forming technology. According to Herbert Kroker, general director of the Erfurt Umformtechnik combine, cooperation above all concentrates on the uniform design of automated press units and production lines, hydraulic drives and high-power forming automats. [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Feb 82 p 2 AU]

GRISHIN-LED CPSU DELEGATION ENDS VISIT 26 FEB

LD261632 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The Soviet political delegation which attended the Days of Moscow events in Budapest left Budapest today. The Moscow Gorkom delegation, led by First Secretary Viktor Grishin, was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Laszlo Marothy, first secretary of the Budapest party committee.

The Soviet trade union delegation currently on a visit to Budapest made a trip to Eger today.

The Komnsomol delegation was entertained at the Pioneers' House of Obuda, in Budapest, today.

MARJAI BEGINS ECONOMIC COOPERATION TALKS IN IRAQ

LD242100 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Baghdad, 26 Feb (MTI) -- The MTI special correspondent reports:

Hungarian Vice-Premier Josef Marjai and Hasan 'Ali, member of the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council and trade minister, co-chairmen of the Hungarian-Iraqi standing joint commission for economic cooperation, established in 1972 and currently in its 8th session, opened talks here today.

The present state of the two countries' economic cooperation, that began to gather momentum in the 1970s, and ways of its advancement are analysed at the Baghdad session. The discussions concern the intensification of technical-scientific relations and the expansion of reciprocal deliveries and industrial-productive cooperation on the basis of mutual advantages. Besides, the participants assess how the decisions from the 7th joint commission meeting, held in Budapest in 1980, are being carried out.

Iraq is one of Hungary's most important economic partners in the developing world. The complementary nature of the two economies, the large-scale economic development programmes in Iraq and the high standard of various branches of the Hungarian industry and agriculture have furnished favourable opportunities for boosting cooperation. The bilateral goods exchange increased to nearly 11-fold between 1972 and 1981, and was worth 241 million dollars last year.

MAGYAR HIRLAP VIEWS SITUATION IN POLAND

AU260930 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 24 Feb 82 p 2

[First article in a series by Gabor Kurti and Barna Varro: "Poland in February 1982 (1.); What Will the Spring Bring?"]

[Text] Walking the streets of Warsaw, there is almost no obvious sign of the state of emergency in force since 13 December. There were hardly any policemen or soldiers to be seen at the capital last week, and only a few remained of the previous set up road blocks. Still, control remains strict at the entrances to public buildings and at checkpoints on streets leading out of the city, where almost every single passing vehicle is stopped. The extraordinary nature of the situation is felt more around 2200, when guests and their hosts must decide whether they would enjoy each other's company until the morning. Those who choose going home must work out well the time intended for transportation. People running after buses and streetcars because they want to be home by 2300 are frequently seen in the evenings in Warsaw. Violating the curfew costs Z5,000, which is a fair sum of money even if one makes allowances for inflation.

Hotel telephones are still silent, but the girls at the switchboards willingly provide a city line. Between two signals, a mechanical voice rhythmically repeats: Rozmowa kontrolowana (This call is being monitored).

The Warsaw stores present a diverse sight. Stocks have improved somewhat at food stores. Eggs have reappeared, the milk is drinkable again, no longer sour, and there is a relatively ample range of vegetables. It remains difficult to obtain meat and meat products, but, admittedly, the purchasing power of the population is also moderate following the recently implemented enormous price increases. The high new prices extend to most industrial commodities as well. However, a few price increases decided on at enterprise level are judged as unreasonably drastic by the authorities, and the price of television sets, for instance, which had been up a few hundred percent, was reduced last week. Some clothing stores and warehouses present a pitiful picture. A customer entering them by chance is met by uncomprehending-looking salesmen leaning against empty shelves.

Nowadays, all expenses are noted at most Polish homes. The new prices have thoroughly upset previous family budgets and no one knows yet exactly what they will be able to afford or not from the salaries augmented by a compensatory sum of money. The previously accumulated reserves suffice for another month or two, only then will the question of the cost of living become vital. Many people are guessing at what the spring will bring.

With the proclamation of the state of emergency, the Polish party and state leadership has undoubtedly won time for resolving the most pressing political and economic problems. On a political level, consolidating the PZPR's ranks and restoring trust between the party's leadership and members constitute the most urgent goal. As our partners in discussions in Warsaw have put it, the consistent implementation of a reform is the only way out in economic life. However, that is made more difficult not only by the present state of the economy and the disorders of its functioning, but, in many places, also by the outlook of enterprises averse to new opportunities and methods.

How are you trying to set party organizations back on their feet again? -- we asked at the Warsaw party committee.

During the months preceding 13 December, Solidarity extremists and antisocialist elements used psychological and sometimes even physical terror against party members. Partly this external pressure and partly internal opportunism have weakened many party organizations, says Mieczyslaw Zochowski, deputy head of the Agitation and Propaganda Department. The introduction of the state of emergency was a watershed in the life of many party organizations. Personal discussions were conducted everywhere with party members who played an active role in Solidarity or filled a leading position in the party or economic life as Solidarity members. The objective of these discussions was that party members should acknowledge Solidarity's past activity as having been antisocialist, and show a willingness to work in accordance with the party's organizational statutes. We could not be satisfied with a discussion in some cases. In Warsaw and the Warsaw Voivodship, the number of those who left or were expelled from the party following 13 December amounts to approximately 1,500. It was necessary to dissolve and reorganize several dozen party organizations and party committees which were unable to purge their own ranks and work out a program adapted to the new circumstances. However, the party does not persecute those with dual membership, but only wants to make them aware that they are, in the first place, party members. Our ideological work centers on clarifying the difference between a Marxist-Leninist party and social organizations. We are placing the main emphasis on creating a new party aktiv.

[Question] What characterizes the new activity of party organizations?

[Zochowski] Social committees, in which party members work as activists, have been established at most plants. Party organizations have also assumed the initiative in creating citizens' committees for national salvation. In many places, material conservation and price control committees have been set up.

As you know, enterprises are switching to self-financing under the terms of the economic reform, and that means broad privileges in determining the prices of products. Several enterprises have increased the prices of their products excessively and without justification -- it is precisely this which the aforementioned committees act against. In addition to all that, there is a brisk discussion about the future of the trade union movement among the working people. It is already apparent that the majority of party members favor a reorganization of the trade unions on a sector basis, with retention of their autonomous and self-administrative character. It is certain, however, that the former Solidarity apparatus -- only 4,000 of the 40,000 officials have been interned -- will stand fast by the old principles, a regional organization. Thus, a political struggle over the future of the trade unions is inevitable, says Zochowski.

We sought practical examples for what we have heard at the Warsaw party committee at the Tarchomin-Polfa pharmaceutical plant, where we were informed by a few members of the enterprise's PZPR committee.

A situation that called for an acute posture did not develop here either before or after the state of emergency, says Romuald Szewczak, first secretary of the party committee. The awareness that pharmaceuticals save lives is deeply rooted in the enterprise's collective. Therefore, not even the most extremist Solidarity activists tried to organize strikes or sabotage. Of course, the introduction of the state of emergency has caused disorders in the enterprise's life, but, contrary to reports spread by Radio Free Europe, no one was arrested or interned here.

[Question] However, there will no doubt be a party purge, we interject.

[Szewczak] Following personal discussions, we had to part company with approximately a dozen party members. For the sake of comparison: Until 1979, 400 of the plant's 2,800 working people had been party members. Our members now number 250. Most people left the party in the last quarter of 1981. We are of the opinion that it does not matter that the party is smaller; for all that, it can be stronger and more active. Incidentally, the chairman of the enterprise Solidarity organization was also a party member. He returned his party card after the proclamation of the state of emergency, and subsequently, we expelled him. Our enterprise is atypical in that many people have arrived at the realization after 13 December, when a general disenchantment took place, that what is primarily involved here is not a party purge, but the need for us to restore the original sense of party activity, stresses Szewczak.

We formed a social committee as soon as 3 days after the introduction of the state of emergency, for social matters cannot be suspended, Tadeusz Kosciesa takes over. We have included all trade union activists familiar with such work in the committee.

[Question] How have people received the price increases?

[Szewczak] There is a snippet of truth in the opinion that people begin to behave normally in Poland when the legal situation is not normal, says Szewczak. They are lamenting here, too, but they have received the increase of food prices with more understanding than that of industrial commodities and imported goods. However, they had not expected such price increases. People are restless, keep talking of prices and counting and calculating, but they are, for the time being, adopting an expectant attitude. Embarrassing discussions are awaiting party members, because it is very difficult to point to positive signs. It is a certain hope that, allegedly, the elaboration and introduction of a new wage system adapted to prices and cost of living expenses is being put on the agenda. That would be truly urgent. In my opinion, the success of the economic reform will be decided by whether the exhaustion of peoples' cash reserves will coincide with the beginning of genuine market mechanisms.

JARUZELSKI-LED DELEGATION LEAVES FOR USSR

LD010902 Warsaw PAP in English 0837 GMT 1 Mar 82

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Mar (PAP) -- A party and state delegation of the Polish People's Republic left for an official visit to the Soviet Union this morning.

The delegation is headed by the First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojceich Jaruzelski.

The delegation includes Roman Malinowski, chairman of the UPP Central Committee and vice-premier, Edward Kowalczyk, chairman of DP Central Committee and vice-premier, Jozef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, Zbigniew Messner, PUWP Political Bureau member and first secretary of the PUWP Voivodship Committee in Katowice, General Florian Siwicki, alternate member of the PUWP Political Bureau and vice-minister of national defence, Marian Wozniak, alternate member of the PUWP Political Bureau and PUWP CC secretary, and Janusz Obodowski, vice-premier.

The delegation also comprises a group of advisers and experts. This group includes the Polish ambassador to the USSR, Kazimierz Olszewski.

The delegation was seen off at the Warsaw airport by representatives of Poland's supreme party and state authorities, including Henryk Jablonski, president of the Council of State.

The Soviet Charge d'Affaires A.I. in Poland Vasiliy Svirin was also present.

The programmme of the visit includes Polish-Soviet meetings and talks at the top level. The subjects of the dialogue will cover the problems of the ties of friendship and co-operation of the two fraternal countries, as well as the most important international problems.

USSR Visit Previewed

LD010924 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 1 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Mar (PAP) -- The party daily TRYBUNA LUDU today described the coming Moscow visit by the Polish party-state delegation led by the First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee and Prime Minister Wojceich Jaruzelski as "an important political act not only in (?mutual) such friendship built upon the experience of confidence will not be shaken by any perturbations or difficulties. It has proved its worth also in today's practice."

"Now we are feeling ourselves, as always, in solidarity with the Soviet Union. [Word indistinct] have and will continue to wage a common struggle against the cold war forces, in defence of peace and detente which are being consistently implemented by the land of the soviets against all adverse odds," said TRYBUNA LUDU.

"The ideological and party assumptions held by the Polish delegation leaving for Moscow are identical with the most deeply conceived state and general national interest, just as cooperation on the state platform has been serving the further tightening and deepening of brotherhood of our two parties.

"The visit of the Polish delegation will be another important step along the common path. We are awaiting the outcome of the visit with the conviction that it will serve well the interests of our two parties and states, as well as the interests of the world nations for whom the imperialist policy and its essential component -- the anti-Polisah campaign -- poses a very serious danger," said TRYBUNA LUDU in conclusion.

In a dispatch from Moscow on the same subject ZYCIE WARSZAWY's correspondent Jerzy Sieradzinski commented:

"These will be talks held by representatives of fraternal parties, neighbourly and allied whose cooperation, based on ideological community and unity of political aims, bears very significantly on the balance of forces (?in) Europe and constitutes an important element of stabilisation of political relations on our continent.

"The special significance of the visit consists in the fact that is taking place in Poland's new situation," said the commentator. [sentence as received]

"Events of the recent period have convinced us that is the global imperialist strategy the chain reaction process of dismantling the socialist community and pushing Europe's history back by a whole epoch was to have begun precisely with Poland.

"The statement that the Soviet Union needs a strong Poland has been made frequently by Soviet statesmen. It has been confirmed by the practice of the Soviet policy throughout the entire postwar period of which we have had ample proof," Sieradzinski added.

"According to political analysts in Moscow, the present visit by the Polish delegation to the Soviet Union is going to open up a qualitatively new stage of cooperation between the two countries, enrich its to date forms and map out long-term prospects for internationalistic cooperation by the two states.

"It is expected to be a visit of great importance for the development of Polish-Soviet relations in all fields, as well as for the strengthening of alliance and friendship linking (?the two) countries and, consequently, the strengthening of cohesion and strength of the entire socialist community," said the commentator in conclusion.

BARCIKOWSKI CHAIRS PZPR DEPUTIES CLUB MEETING

LD261952 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The PZPR Deputies' Club held a meeting this morning. The proceedings were chaired by Kazimierz Barcikowski and dealt mainly with the subject matter of the Sejm session. Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski outlined the intended changes in the composition of the government.

REPORTAGE OF 26 FEB SEJM SESSION DELIBERATIONS

Opening Debate Reported

LD261158 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The most important event of the day is the Sejm debate which started an hour ago. Therefore, at the beginning of this magazine, I hand you over to our parliamentary correspondent Slawomir Szoff:

The Sejm started its debate exactly at 1105. This is the 19th session of the Sejm in its eighth convocation. As usual, it is accompanied by great interest. The diplomatic and press galleries are full, as is the public gallery. There are many foreign journalists, including foreign television and film teams.

The State Council seats are filled by its members led by Chairman of the Council Henryk Jablonski. The government seats contain members of the government led by Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The session was opened by Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa with the traditional three knocks with the speaker's gavel. On the motion of the chairman of the Council of Ministers the agenda has an additional item: changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

In the initial part of the session dealing with the agenda, the floor was taken by the deputy from Opole Voivodship Edmund Osmanczyk, who proposed a motion ensuring equal rights to all deputies in the mass media's presentation of their views as contained in their speeches made during the plenary sessions of the Sejm. Speaker Gucwa accepted the motion and it will be examined by the Sejm Presidium, in conjunction with the relevant government memorandums [agenda].

The house paid tribute to the memory of Deputy Franciszek Gessing, who died 14 February this year.

Next, the speaker informed the house about the resignation of three [as heard] deputies -- Gustaw Holoubek and Emil Wojtaszek. The Sejm acknowledged the expiration of their mandates as from today.

Next, on the motion of the mandates and regulations commission, proposed by Deputy Antoni (Gul), the Sejm unanimously approved the decision to the deputies' mandates in eight constituencies. Deputies' mandates were acquired by: Wladyslaw Janik, member of the ZSL in constituency No 10 in Bydgoszcz; Roman Lipowicz, member of the PZPR, and Halena Daniszesska, nonparty in constituency No 14 in Czestochowe; Helena Budzik, PZPR in constituenct No 17 in Gdynie; Kazimierz Zmuda, PZPR in constituency No 21 In Katowice; Jan Jerzy Bojarski, nonparty in constituency No 44 in Olsztyn; Tadeusz Cajda, PZPR in constituency No 69 in Wroclaw; and Czeslaw Kaminski, PZPR in constituency No 72 in Zielona Gora. The new deputies took the oath.

Twenty-five minutes ago, the Sejm moved to the second important item on the agenda. The reports of three commissions: For Workers' Self-Management of Enterprise; Economic Plan, Budget and Finance; and Legislative Work, on eight government draft bills on socioeconomic planning, on prices, on the financial management of state enterprises, on taxation of units of the socialized economy, the bank law, the granting of a statute to the Polish National Bank, on state statistics, on the right to engage in foreign trade, and on the listing of goods and services for which official prices are to be fixed. The rapporteur of the package of bills, which are of great importance for our economy, was professor Zigniew (Derbich).

First to take the floor in the debate on the set of bills, on behalf of the parliamentary PZPR, was deputy Stanislaw Debala. In all, 17 speakers have elected to speak.

The debate continues, and we will broadcast our next report in the news bulletin at 1300.

Speech Publishing Discussed

LD261328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpts] We begin with our report from the Sejm plenary session. Deputy Edmund Osmanczyk, nonparty, proposed a motion designed to ensure to all deputies equal rights in the publicity of their speeches. He said that, as usual, his most recent speech in the Sejm has not been published in full in TRYBUNA OPOLSKA newspaper published in the region he has represented in the Sejm for years. He recalled, among other things that he postulated, that full texts of speeches by deputies should be published in the government paper RZECZPOSPOLITA. Answering Stanislaw Gucwa said the Sejm Presidium has dealt with this matter, together with the relevant government bodies.

But let us go back to the report submitted by Deputy Gertych. He presented the result of work on the government draft bills introducing the economic reform. In the course of 3 months of work many, often very essential, changes have been made. Next, he made a critical appraisal of the command-allocation [nakozowo-Rozdzielczy] system in force until recently. It was characterized by very far-reaching restrictions on the independence of enterprises. Against this background, he justified the need to systematically introduce the economic reform.

This process is not a one-time act and must run through a longer period of time said Deputy Gertych. We must all have time to get used to the working of the new rules of the game and its mechanisms. The first changes pertaining, for instance, to prices reveal that the initial stage of introducing the reform is linked with the need for sacrifices.

Thus we must apply many forms of social protection to certain levels of society until the reform makes it possible to raise living standards for all.

Next, Deputy Gertych drew attention to the need for the Sejm to attempt an appraisal of the currently passed acts, so as to remove in future all that fails to pass the test. In the concluding part of his speech, Deputy Gertych spoke succintly on the major issues which the commissions worked on, presenting the precepts and the amendments to the eight draft bills submitted to the Sejm. Presenting the bill on planning, the deputy said it is designed to widen the role of the Sejm in making of strategic decisions. This will be assisted by the Sejm's examination of various forms of the long-term plan, before the formulation of the final project of the national socioeconomic plan.

Finally, he said the draft bills submitted to the Sejm are conducive to extricating Poland from the crisis and should contribute to a speedier achievement of economic equilibrium. Only their consistent putting into effect, as well as intensive and selfless work of the entire nation, will be able to ensure prosperity to our community.

First to take the floor in the deputies' debate, on behalf of the parliamentary PZPR, was Deputy Stanislaw Gebala. He said the parliamentary PZPR will vote for the draft bill now being debated. Next to take the floor were: Deputy Jozef Kijowski on behalf of the parliamentary ZSL and Deputy Jerzy Jozwiak from the parliamentary Democratic Party. They too spoke in support of the draft bills.

Bills Debated

LD261452 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Unidentified Sejm correspondent's report]

[Text] At present there is a break in the Sejm session. I remind you that it began at 1100, and that the main subject of the deputies' debate is the government bills for planning, prices, taxes, financial management of enterprises, and their authority to conduct foreign trade, among other things. Deputy Zbigniew Gertych presented the bills on behalf of three commissions.

On behalf of the PZPR parliamentary group Deputy Stanislaw Gebala spoke first in the (?joint) debate of these bills.

The next speaker was Deputy Jozef Kijowski who on behalf of the ZSL said that the government bills presented to the Sejm arise from many varied, detailed concepts and proposals. The creation of the best but also complex solutions is not simple if it is to be realistic, effective and rooted in the complex conditions of our economy in its tragic state. The speaker stressed that the ZSL parliamentary group is concerned that the reform, which is of tremendous political and economic significance, be implemented with total consistency. In conclusion Deputy Kujowski said that the ZSL parliamentary group will be voting for the presented bills.

On behalf of the SD Deputy Jerzy Jozwiak then spoke in the deputies' debate. The parliamentary club which I represent, he said, advocates profound and total economic reform, consistently realized on the basis of rational premises. Longstanding habits of bad management have to be effectively overcome. We advocate a radical report, but one which is implemented according to plan, consistently and without retreating to the management methods of years ago. The basis of success for every economy and state is well organized, productive work. Such a premise is necessary for the effective implementation of the reform. The deputy stressed that the work must be really well organized, have appropriate supplies and be effectively reqarded with a system of pay, prizes and promotions. Every manifestation of this principle being violated and of people being favored on the basis of different criteria will cause irreparable damage and a breakdown in the motivation system. The SD parliamentary group will support the presented bills because it sees in them the guarantee of the legal basis for implementing the economic reform.

That is all for the main outlines of this morning's debate. The break will soon be over and the Sejm plenary session will continue.

Bill Debates Continue

LD261458 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Correspondent's dispatch from the Polish Sejm]

[Text] [Passage indistinct] Twenty minutes ago the Sejm resumed its debate after a lunch break. It continues to debate the draft bills.

First to take the floor was Deputy Tadeusz Olszewski of the PZPR. In extremely difficult conditions, he said, we are putting the economic reform into effect, and getting out of the crisis simply calls for a thorough reform of our entire economy, of all the mechanisms by which it works. This applies to prices too, although reform in this sphere could not have been received enthusiastically. But in the immediate future it will bring about a division of assets based on the maximum of justice. Deputy Olszewski stated the reforms' benefits will only become apparent after a while. We must understand this. The deputy stressed further the tendency of certain enterprises to pass on increased production costs exclusively to the consumers, and to raise prices excessively. He said this practice deserves to be castigated. The words limit, directives and index will be gradually but firmly replace by another word: contract. This increases the responsibility of enterprises and imposes additional obligations on them.

The next speaker, who has just taken the floor, is Krystyna Jandy-Jendroska, nonparty deputy. The debate continues and several speakers are still to be heard.

Speeches Continue

LD261806 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Correspondent's dispatch from the Polish Sejm]

[Excerpt] At this moment another break in the Sejm session is ending. I would like to go back to a few recent speeches which have not been referred to so far in our bulletins.

Deputy Stanislaw Rostworowski, Christian Social Association, stressed the importance of the legal documents submitted to the Sejm. He pointed out that these documents are eliminating a system void which has left behind by the discredited system of directives and orders. He stressed the importance of the Sejm's role as well as the importance of the Polish National Bank, which has been, in a way, entrusted with the job of treasurer.

Referring to one of the fundamental documents determining the functioning of the national economy, the bill on socioeconomic planning, Deputy Bernard Widera, United Peasant Party, stressed that the fundamental trait of the new planning model is the socialization of this process. Against the background of agricultural issues the deputy postulated that plans in this sphere should be carefully balanced with the supplies of means of production of agriculture; only then can the farming production plans be realistic. The speaker also dealt with some problems related to the shaping of prices for agricultural circles' services.

Deputy Mieczyslaw Tarnawa, Democratic Party, stated that despite the fact that the legal acts published to date emphasize that small-scale production and crafts constitute a lasting element of our socialist economy uncertainty prevails in these areas over the reality of development prospects.

The high productivity with which crafts exploit raw and other materials, the high reputation of Polish crafts in the world, the need to prolong the durability of clothes, footwear and household goods -- all these are arguments encouraging a fair treatment of crafts as full-fledged economic partner. He stressed that the bill submitted to the Sejm will provide opportunities for more effective activities of the entire small-scale production.

Danuta Serafim, deputy from the PZPR, gave her own reflections and voters' opinions on the functioning of commerce in the current economic situation. She suggested drafting a charter of rights and duties of employees of commerce, expanding the personnel of the state trade inspection and embracing the system of central distribution. She said that commerce should be the verifier of the economic process from the viewpoint of satisfying consumers' needs.

Next deputy Zbigniew Zielinski, nonparty, stressed that the debated draft bills should determine the shape of the deeply transformed economic system in Poland, which is so different from all solutions applied throughout the postwar period. The realization of the necessity of system changes for the improvement of efficiency and for the invigoration of economic processes is as widely felt as the bitterness due to squandered opportunities of past decades. The deputy stressed that we are all aware of the necessity of creating conditions for dialogue between the authorities and the community. He also underlined the role of the young generation in the process of socioeconomic changes in our country, emphasizing that the young are the future of our economy.

Resolution on National Accord

LD262308 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has passed a resolution reconfirming the necessity of implementing the idea of national accord. Here is the text of the resolution:

The Sejm of the Polish People's Republic reconfirms the necessity to implement the idea of national accord. In the new conditions -- free of anarchy, permitting the process of stabilization of the life of the state to take place, making possible the rebuilding of moral values and the formation of a climate for work and for a solid execution of one's duties -- there exists the necessity to make further efforts to create and consolidate a broad platform of cooperation among all forces in the nation and all people of good will, irrespective of their views or of what organization they belong, so as to restore public confidence and to effect a correct understanding of the fundamental issues of the Polish state and national existence.

The Sejm is of the opinion that the activities of the civic committees of national salvation constitute a valuable initiative of broad public support for the aspirations of the Military Council of National Salvation and of the government of the premier, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski.

In these committees, transforming themselves into civic committees for national rebirth, the Sejm sees one of the important forms of the patriotic and civic aspirations of our society, which is guided by the good of the fatherland, by the need to restore normal conditions for the functioning of the state, national economy and public life, and the need to continue the (?cause) of socialist renewal.

The Sejm will embark upon all necessary actions in order to effect national accord, and instructs the Sejm Presidium, together with the PZPR, ZSL and SD Deputies' Clubs and deputies' circles, to initiate the compilation of terms of reference for an accord of this nature, to initiate organizational proposals pertaining to the accord on a national scale, and to present the results of this work to the Sejm.

Report on Bills Passed

LD262224 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Nine bills essential for the creation of efficient foundations of economic reform, and a resolution confirming the need to implement the idea of national accord, were passed at the first day of the Sejm debates.

The Sejm has passed the following bills: on socioeconomic planning; on prices; on the creation of an office of a minister for price matters; on financial economy in state enterprises; on the taxation of units of the socialized economy; on bank law; on the statute of the National Polish Bank; on state statistics; and on powers to conduct foreign trade.

The following bills will come into effect on the day of their announcement: on prices; on the creation of an office of a minister for price matters; on state statistics; and on powers to conduct foreign trade. The remainder of the bills will come into effect on 1 July 1982.

The Sejm unanimously passed a resolution concerning the definition of the list of goods and services which have officially fixed prices. These prices encompass the means of (?consumption) and services that are of fundamental significance for maintaining and protecting the health of the population, as well as the means of production and services which are of fundamental significance for the (?needs) of production. These prices also encompass fundamental agricultural produce procured by the agencies of socialized economy.

26 Feb Session Ends

LD261826 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] A few minutes ago -- after the end of the Sejm debate in which a total of 17 speakers took part -- the Sejm passed unanimously the drafts of nine statutes.

In a special resolution the Sejm confirmed the need for national agreement. It appealed to all people of good will to work hard for the good of the country. This work would guarantee the implementation of the economic reform and as a consequence a better future for all of us. At this point the first day of the session came to an end.

Tomorrow the Sejm will resume its work at 0900.

REPORTAGE ON ACTIVITIES OF 27 FEB SEJM SESSION

Price Affairs Ministry Created

LD271112 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Good morning. The Sejm has been carrying out very intensive work in the first 2 hours of today's session. Let me remind you that the session began a few minutes after 0900 and that it is being conducted by Speaker Stanislaw Gucwa.

A report on the draft statutes -- which have been the object of great interest for a long time now -- concerning setting up a constitutional tribunal of a tribunal of state was delivered by deputy Zenon Wroblewski on behalf of the deputies of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD. I discussed the drafts in more extensive form an hour ago. Now I shall just remind you that according to the terms of reference of both tribunals which are being appointed by the Sejm, the correctness of all legal acts as regards the Constitution would be established and the constitutional responsibility of persons holding the highest state functions would be examined. The main aim is to consolidate law and order and to sanction the principle that people in responsible state posts must be subjected to constant social supervision.

The draft statutes were submitted after the so-called "first reading" to the Commission for Legislative Work and after further legislative work is presented at one of the next plenary sessions of the Sejm.

Next, the draft statute on cooperatives and unions which was submitted on the initiative of deputies, was presented in the form of a first reading by Deputy Jerzy Golaczynski.

The house then unanimously passed four statutes: on providing old-age pensions to miners and their families; in orders and medals; on the general provision of old-age pensions to workers and their families; and on the establishment of the honorary title of merited port-worker of the Polish People's Republic.

The Sejm also passed a statute on setting up a state atmomic agency.

On the eighth item on the agenda, Premier Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski proposed that Jan Knapik should be recalled from the post of minister of the chemical and light industries at his own request in connection with his state of health. He proposed Edward Grzywa, professor of technical sciences and hitherto under secretary in this ministry, for this post.

In connection with the fact that the post of minister for price affairs has been created in line with the Sejm statue which was passed yesterday, the premier proposed Professor Zdzislaw Krasinski for this post. Hitherto he was a minister and a member of the Council of Ministers.

In a vote with two abstentions the Sejm recalled Jan Knapik and unanimously appointed Edward Grzywa to the post of minister of chemical and light industries. With 14 abstentions the Sejm appointed Zdzislaw Krasinski to the post of minister for price affairs.

Half an hour ago the ninth item on the agenda was begun: written and verbal questions by the deputies. Jerzy Wojtecki, minister of agriculture and the food economy, was the first to give answers to previously submitted written questions. The session continues.

Minister Knapik Replaced

LD272026 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] At today's Sejm session, Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski presented the proposals for changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers.

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] Citizen Speaker. May it please the house. I wish to present the proposal to make changes in the composition of the Council of Ministers. I request the recalling of Citizen Jan Knapik from the post of minister of chemical and light industry at his request. This is in connection with his seriously weakened state of health as a result of the illness he has recently gone through. I offer Citizen Jan Knapik thanks for the self-sacrificing effort put into the creation and functioning of the combined Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry and for his active work in the Council of Ministers.

To the post of minister of chemical and light industry I propose the appointment of Citizen Edward Grzywa, under secretary of the state in this ministry. Citizen Edward Grzywa was born in 1933 in Graboszyce, near Wadowice, into a worker's family. He graduated with a BA in chemical engineering. In 1973 he received the academic title of professor extraordinary. In 1978 he became professor of technological sciences. He began his professional work in 1957 in the chemical factory in Oswiecim. He worked there until 1966, finally as head of the scientific research department. Subsequently, until 1972, he was director of the Institute of Heavy Organic Synthesis in the Silesian metal sheet factory. He then worked in the Ministry of Chemical Industry as director of technological progress until 1975 and subsequently until 1978 as director of the Institute of Organic Industry. He later became director of the Institute of Industrial Chemistry in Warsaw. In 1981 he was appointed under secretary of state at the combined Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry. He is the author of many scientific publications and holds patents in the field of chemistry. He is also three times winner of a state prize. Since 1974 he has been a professor at Warsaw Polytechnic. He is a member of the PZPR.

In connection with the passing by the house of the bill on the creation of a Ministry of Price Affairs I request the appointment to this post of Citizen Zdzislaw Krasinski and his simultaneous recalling from the position of minister member of the Council of Ministers which he combined with the duties of chairman of the State Prices Commission. The results of his work constitute a good recommendation for its continuation in the post now being proposed.

I already presented the personal details of Citizen Zdzislaw Krasinski at the Sejm session on 12 June 1981. [end recording]

State Tribunals Role

LD271522 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Feb (PAP) -- The two-day session of the Polish Sejm closed today. The first reading of deputies-sponsored bills took place. The first bill envisages awarding constitutional rank to the proposed new institutions: the state tribunal and the constitutional tribunal, and the second concerns detailed solutions linked with the stated tribunal. The bills will now undergo detailed studies by the Sejm Legislative Work Committee.

Also the deputies-sponsored bill on cooperatives and their unions had its first reading today. A special committee set up to consider the bill increased to 26 the number of Sejm committees.

The Sejm updated the laws on pensions for miners and their dependants, on decorations and distinctions, on universal pension system for workers and their dependents. The honorary title of meritorious docker of the Polish People's Republic was established. The law on founding the state atomistics [as received] agency was adopted. Changes in the Council of Ministers were carried out. Government representatives answered questions put by deputies.

Introducing the proposal on establishing the institutions of state tribunal and constitutional tribunal on behalf of the PUWP, UPP, and DP Sejm deputies' clubs, PUWP Deputy Zenon Wroblewski stated that the deputies' initiative originated from the need to improve further the system of the rule of law.

The bill on the state tribunal lays down that those liable to stand before the tribunal are: the chairman of the Council of Ministers, deputy premiers, ministers, as well as chairmen of commissions and committees exercising functions of supreme state administration, as well as the chairman, deputy chairmen, the secretary and members of the Council of State, the chairman of the Supreme Control Chamber [NIK] and the prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic. The sponsors of the bill unanimously accepted the opinion of experts that persons whose appointment and control of the exercise of their duties are not regulated by constitutional principles or those occupying posts which do not carry the usual or qualified constitutional responsibility cannot be subject of the tribunal's jurisdiction. These persons are politically accou able to the appropriate organs of their respective parties and for infringements of the aw should be tried by civil courts just as every citizen.

Defining the scope of the state tribunal's jurisdiction, the bill provides that actions performed by the office holder found to have infringed the constitution or other law thereby inflicting considerable damage to the interests of the state or exposing it to serious danger will be referred to the state tribunal.

Public opinion attaches great weight to lawful and just settlement of the question of responsibility for law infringements and the resulting damage sustained in the 1970's, said Deputy Wroblewski. The bill on the state tribunal meets halfway these expectations. The state tribunal will have the power to consider, judge and hand down sentences relating to all such acts of infringement of the penal rules committed during the aforesaid period.

It will be also empowered to consider acts of violation of the constitution or other laws but will restrict itself in this case to establishing the commission of the act, according to the principle that the law does not apply retroactively.

The Sejm has the exclusive right to refer cases to be considered by the state tribunal.

The bill on cooperatives and their unions aims at broadening legal guarantees covering, among other things, strengthening democracy inside the cooperatives, the principles governing the management and the economic-financial system of cooperatives. According to the safeguards in the bill, the activity of the cooperative organisations will be based on the cost-effect analysis and ensures advantages for the cooperative's members.

The provision which lays down that local authority and stage administration bodies can issue regulations binding on the cooperatives exclusively on the basis of the laws, is a very important element of the bill.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers proposed that Jan Knapik be recalled from the post of minister of the chemical and light industries granting his request to be relieved of his post for reasons of health. At the same time the premier proposed the appointment of Edward Grzywa as minister of the chemical and light industries and presented his to date occupational activity.

Wojciech Jaruzelski also proposed that Zczislaw Krasinski be appointed minister for prices and simultaneously relieved of the post of minister-member of the Council of Ministers.

Both candidatures had been positively assessed by the Sejm committee concerned. The Sejm recalled Jan Knapik from the post of minister of the chemical and light industries with three abstentions and unanimously appointed Edward Grzywa to the post. With 14 abstentions the chamber appointed Zdzislaw Krasinski minister for prices.

Edward Grzywa was born in 1933 to a workers' family, since 1973 he has been a holder of professor's degree in technical sciences.

In 1972-85 he worked in the Ministry of the Chemical Industry. In 1975 he was appointed director of the Institute of Organic Industry in Warsaw and in 1978 director of the Institute of Industrial Chemistry here. In 1981 he was appointed under secretary of state at the Ministry of Chemical Industry. He is a Warsaw Technical University professor and three-times winner of the state award, member of the PUWP.

The chamber heard answers given by ministers on topics relating to agricultural policy, land management, housing, credits for newlywed couples, and construction of the oncology centre.

TV Reports Deliberations

LD271850 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Excerpts] The draft statute on cooperatives and cooperative unions was discussed at the 2-day Sejm session. This draft was presented by Deputy Jerzy Golaczynski of the PZPR. The deputy said that the importance of the cooperative movement in the structure of Poland makes consideration of the draft a priority. Among other things, the cooperative movement is responsible for more than 70 percent of retail sales in the country. The share of the cooperative movement in the services sector is almost 60 percent. The deputy said that the achievements of the cooperative movement have been reduced as a result of administrative interference. The 1961 statute on the cooperative movement did not specifically delineate the principles governing the economic activities of cooperatives. Thus, a change in this situation must be effected not only by departing from incorrect practices but also by introducing guarantees in accordance with which the cooperative movement can function as an economic partner of some consequence combining the individual interests of members with general social interests.

The Sejm appointed, with one abstention, an extraordinary commission to examine the draft statute on cooperatives and their unions. The commission consists of 32 deputies.

Next, Deputy Lukasz Balcer of the SD presented government draft statutes on amending the statute on old-age pensions for miners and their families, on amending the statute on orders and medals, on amending the statute on universal old-age pensions to workers and their families, and on establishing the honorary title of "merited port worker of the Polish People's Republic."

Deputy Balcer stated that the title of "merited port worker" is to be conferred -- in accordance with the draft statute -- on workers in Polish merchant ports who have notched up particular achievements in many years of work. In accordance with the draft of the second statute, the amendments envisage an increase of up to 15 percent in the old-age pension for those working in maritime merchant ports. In the draft statute on old-age pensions to miners and their families, the amendments boil down to the granting of additional rights to miners enabling them to retire earlier and to increase the amount of their pension as a result of a longer career in mining. The draft statute also proposes a reduction in the retirement age. This would be introduced progressively.

In the draft statutes on orders and medals, the amendments increase the opportunities for gaining orders and medals by workers at maritime merchant ports and by miners and metal industry workers.

The deputies passed all the proposed statutes unanimously.

Next, Deputy Jerzy Bukowski, no party affiliation, presented a government draft statute on setting up a state atomic energy agency. Deputy Bukowski reviewed the development of atomic energy in Poland, which began in 1955 when the ("Ewa") atomic reactor was started up. Since 1976 this sphere of the economy has, however, been deemphasized. The office of atomic energy has been liquidated. The setting up of a state atomic energy agency will create the conditions under which programming and coordinating functions can be exercised properly. The Sejm passed the statute on the setting up of a state atomic energy agency unanimously.

27 Feb Session Ends

LD271128 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Slawomir Szoh dispatch]

[Excerpts] The 2-day session of the Sejm of the eighth convocation ended half an hour ago.

During today's deliberations, which began a few minutes after 0900 and which were conducted by Speaker Gucwa, the first reading of deputies' draft statutes took place. The first draft statute envisages that constitutional rank should be given to the proposed new institutions -- the tribunal of state and the constitutional tribunal. The second draft statute refers to individual solutions connected with the tribunal of state. Deputy Zenon Wroblewski read a report on these drafts on behalf of the deputies of the PZPR, ZSL and SD.

COMMISSIONS HOLD MEETINGS FOLLOWING SEJM SESSION

Workers Self-Government

LD271821 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] After the conclusion of yesterday's Sejm debate the Commission for Workers Self-Government in Enterprises examined the possibility of resuming the activities of workers self-government under martial law. It has been agreed that shortly the deputies will acquaint themselves with views on this matter in factories and will continue the discussion at their next meeting.

Other Commissions

LD271642 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] The Sejm Commission for Foreign Trade has examined reports about the export of agricultural goods and foodstuffs.

The commission for Education and Upbringing has voiced opinions on certain executive acts relating to the statute "teacher's charter".

The commission for Science and Technical Progress has elected Deputy Jan Janowski as its chairman.

The Sejm Commission for Mandates and Regulations, on the other hand, has examined reports about the implementation of the rights for compensation for property left abroad. The commission has also examined the reply of the minister of health and social welfare, sent to the commission by the prime minister's office, to a desideratum regarding claims submitted by Polish citizens for legal compensation [words indistinct] to which they are entitled because of the pseudomedical experiments.

Cooperatives Commission Formed

LD271420 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Excerpts] The 2-day session of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic has ended in Warsaw.

Immediately after the Sejm session, an extraordinary commission was formed in order to examine the bill about cooperatives and their unions which was submitted on the initiative of the deputies. Deputy Jerzy Kolaczynski was elected chairman of the commission and Deputies Emil Kolodziej and Edward Wisniewski were elected vice chairmen of the commission.

Stanislaw Gucha, the speaker of the Sejm, pointed to the significance of the work to be carried out by the new commission. During the course of the first session it was stated that in order to make it possible for the commission to fulfill the task entrusted to it it will be important to consult the opinions of experts and have consultation with the cooperative unions and with individual cooperatives.

RESOLUTION, SPEECHES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

PZPR Resolution Summarized

LD262342 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2125 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The resolution of the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was published today. Here is a summary:

The Central Committee recognizes the decisions of the Council of State concerning the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981 and the establishment of the Military Council of National Salvation as fully corresponding to the requirements of the situation.

These decisions were made in the name of the most vital interests of the working class and the nation, confronted by the threat to the foundations of existence of the independent socialist Polish state, after all other means to prevent a national catastrophe had been exhausted.

The Central Committee gives full support to the activity of the Military Council of National Salvation and approves the decisions and actions of the Politburo in connection with the introduction of martial law.

The Polish People's Army, fulfilling its patriotic duty, has averted a national catastrophe. The Central Committee expresses recognition of the soldiers' ideological conviction, high civic awareness and exemplary discipline. The Central Committee expresses recognition of the self-sacrificing, faithful service of the Citizen's Militia and security services.

As a result of the introduction of martial law, the actions of counterrevolution have been halted, the security of the state and its citizens has been assured and law, order and discipline were restored in Poland.

The Central Committee approves of the assessment of the situation and approves of the directions of party action contained in the report made by Wojciech Jaruzelski and makes it incumbent on the Politburo to draft by 7 March a schedule for the implementation of these tasks.

The Central Committee stresses the durability and irreversibility of transformations in sociopolitical life outlined in the resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. Economic reform is an integral part of the transformation and its introduction is one of the most important tasks for the immediate future.

The Central Committee recognizes that the activity of party echelons and organizations should concentrate on socioeconomic priorities, comprising improvement of the nation's diet, development of housing construction and reduction of our economy's dependence on capitalist countries.

The PZPR parliamentary party was instructed to submit to the Sejm a draft statute on setting up a socioeconomic council which will perform consultative functions.

In view of the fact that the activities of self-management at enterprises have been temporarily suspended, the Central Committee recommends that -- as the need arises -- social consultative commissions be set up at factories. They should express opinions on management proposals and have the right to take their own initiatives in matters connected with the activity of enterprises.

The Central Committee supports the reconstruction of a strong, independent and self-managing trade union movement, constituting a general platform for comanaging the country, for organizing working people and defending their daily socioprofessional interests. The reborn trade union movement must act in accordance with the interests of the state; must recognize the socialist principles governing life in the country and must recognize the leading role of the PZPR.

The Central Committee confirms the fundamental principles governing its international activity and Polish foreign policy. Our country is and will remain a credible link of the socialist community. It expresses gratitude to the fraternal socialist countries for their great help to our country.

The fundamental condition for the rebirth of the party is to follow the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The PZPR is a party fighting for social justice, high morality and democratic political and economic reforms. The aim of the party is the full recovery of the ideological and moral framework to the values of socialism. The Central Committee submits for general party discussion the draft ideological and program declaration. What are we fighting for, where are we heading?

Strengthening the party's ties with the working class and its working class character are of fundamental importance. The working class must be assured of genuine influence on state and party decisions. It is recommended that worker aktiv groups be set up in party echelons to carry on party work in basic organizations and to extend help to them.

The party must create the conditions for a national revival. The civic national salvation committees are of momentous importance in this. Party members are instructed to take an active part in the committees and party echelons to give them essential aid.

The party also has the duty to create conditions for the activity of youth and for the proper exploitation of young cadres. Party echelons and organizations should help the socialist youth unions. With regard to the importance of the problems of the young generation, the Central Committee recommended that a plenary session of the Central Committee be prepared on this issue.

The ideological, political and organizational unity of the party is a prerequisite for strong and effective party action. Overcoming internal divisions and differences, purging influences that weaken the party and restoring inner-party discipline are urgent tasks for party organizations. The individual discussions being held in the party should serve this goal. Factional activities are intolerable. There should be a firm struggle against opportunism and sectarian opinions. The Central Committee recommends the cessation of activity of all forms of extra-statutory movements, structures, forums and seminars.

The revival of party activity depends above all on the work of the basic party organizations and on their links with the people. All echelons are under the obligation to give special help to those basic organizations that are working under difficult conditions. Members of party authorities at all levels should systematically participate in the work of their basic organizations.

The Central Committee states that in the present situation, the requirements of political employees of party committees are growing. Greater stress should be placed on raising political qualifications and improving the organizational abilities of the party apparat. This aim will be promoted by the new program for choosing and training party cadres and for working out a code and pragmatic guidelines for party employees.

New principles of cadre policy should be worked out and introduced, rejecting the bad practice from the past, especially a bureaucratic, formal approach to appointments [nomenklatura]. We must retain an active role for the party in cadre policy. We must assure a widening of the social base for cadre selection and increase the participation in government by the other political parties, the young generation and nonparty representatives of all milieux.

The Central Committee takes cognizance of the statement by the Presidium of the Central Party Control Commission on settling accounts with PZPR members responsible for abusing their positions for personal gain and other misdemeanors. The party is continuously concerned about the purity of its members and everyone who violates this purity, regardless of the post held will bear severe consequences. Actions that qualify for legal proceedings will be dealt with by the courts and the responsibility for acts against the Constitution will be dealt with by the state tribunal that is being set up.

The Central Committee thanks the party activists for their involvement in the work and struggle with political opponents; for their constancy in the defense of the most vital values of socialism. The Central Committee expresses the conviction that in implementing the tasks mapped out at the seventh party plenum the party, thanks to the activeness and dedication of its members, will cope with the difficult tasks of the present period, in the work for the socialist motherland and for the good of the entire nation.

Rakowski Speech

LD261508 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0736 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] At yesterday's discussion at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy premier and member of the Central Committee, said among other things:

Today one of the subjects which is thrown in for discussion is the question of whether the policy which held on to the course of agreement, which tried to resolve the crisis along the political road, was the correct one. Was it correct to continue this even when it became clear that it did not hold out hope for success? Various opinions are known to me behind which stand certain people, and this is understandable. Some think that the course of agreement, of dialogue, (?of) search for political solutions, was erroneous; that it came from a defeatist and opportunist stance. Others, and I also belong to those, are of the opinion that the line of agreement, with society and not with the enemy, of course, was correct. It was correct because it increased the chances of winning (?over), even if not the whole society, then at least considerable fractions of it, for our policies.

It was correct because it was in the interest of the nation. Equally for the nation and for the party it was the best and least painful road for emerging from the crisis and realizing socialist renewal.

As long as there existed even the smallest chances to realize that line, everything had to be done to make use of it. I think that the decisiveness with which the first secretary of the Central Committee, the premier, has been striving from 30 October -- the day when from the Sejm rostrum he suggested the creation of the council of national accord, the creation of front of national accord -- was absolutely correct. It was precisely in November and the beginning of December, that public opinion could convince itself that it was not us who said no to the idea of agreement. It was not us who did not want to allow the creation of the council of national accord. This fact had great significance for the course which took place on 13 December. It must be said that if we had not promoted the line of agreement so persistently, the introduction of martial law could have had a more tragic course (?and on) a large scale.

Despite brutal attacks from Solidarity extremists and unfavorable looks from intellectual circles, in which I was stuck for many years, I did not cease in efforts to achieve an agreement which would be in accord with the interests of socialist Poland.

I submit this, to some extent a declaration, because those who determine the political line of Solidarity still state that our speaking for the national accord was exclusively a tactic. In fact, so it is stated -- and this opinion is supported by imperialist circles -- for a long time we were preparing for the introduction of martial law. This is a lie.

In turn, from a completely different side I hear that in speaking for the line of accord I was assuming a defeatist stance. Regaining credibility, lost by the party as a result of many causes, (?could have happened) only through strenuous and sincere striving for liquidating the crisis along the road of dialogue and agreement. This is what the nation desired and still desires.

I express deep satisfaction with the fact that in the Politburo report we decisively speak for the continuation of efforts to create the front of national accord. This is a political fact of significant meaning. Its significance lies in the fact that we are still on the threshold of great political battles which will decide the fate of socialism in our country. One cannot even for a moment succumb to the illusion that that which is most difficult is already behind us. The enemy has not, and will not, lay down his arms.

One should expect an intense fight against us. The fight will take various forms, including conspiratorial (?forms). The most effective level of a political struggle, in situations which are already arising, or will arise, may on the one hand be a decisive execution of law, and on the other, a policy based on dialogue and striving for agreement with society. This striving should of course be enclosed in organizational structures. It will be necessary to do some work on such structures. Committees of national salvation, about which the comrade first secretary spoke yesterday, may be a good start.

Only on this level can our opponents be isolated. The use of force is, of course, necessary in particular situations. Such a situation happened toward the end of last year. But we cannot build the Polish vision of the end of the 20th century of this situation. The critics of the line of agreement and dialogue, forget how difficult it was for us for many months to at least get a little support for our policies. For many months we had almost no access of any kind to the hearts and minds of the majority of the working class. We cannot forget these facts.

I state that the line of government action, which is in agreement with the resolutions of the Central Committee, was the only correct one. It was a line of struggle and of agreement -- struggle with the opponents of socialism and agreement in the name of renewal.

With great difficulty we gained support for this policy, also in our own disoriented ranks.

Most frequently we are under fire with criticism that we are implementing the program of renewal too sluggishly, that we are not meeting the expectations of the masses, that we are showing excessive inflexibility toward the tasks of Solidarity.

Let us recall at least the atmosphere which reigned at the ninth plenum. Our obstinately renewed attempts to solve the crisis by political means of dialogue and accord were unsuccessful; but this does not mean that this path of struggle was a false one. Our efforts were unsuccessful since the politics of Solidarity were dominated by forces of anarchy, anticommunism, bent on confrontation, assiduously supported by capitalists abroad.

The defeat was also influenced by the insufficient dynamics of party action, its internal disarray which was undoubted at the time. Our efforts were not successful since the dissatisfaction of the community, which paralyzed the ability to listen and understand rational arguments, was deeper than it seemed to us. We underestimated the (broad) dimensions of the susceptibility of the broad masses of the community to accept demagogic and antisocialist agitation.

In such a situation, the introduction of martial law proved to be an historical necessity. Martial law has blocked the path of the national tragedy which was inexorably approaching, but at least it has not abolished from the agenda the need to fight for peoples' minds, for the acquisition of real support for party policy. Martial law assures peace and tranquility, but the attainment of goals arising from resolutions of the ninth congress is certainly not -- and will not be -- an easy matter.

Martial law, with its necessary restrictions on democracy, and emergency measures which must be applied, by force of fact renders the introduction of dialogue more difficult. Thus our main purpose must continue to be steadfast struggle for regaining credibility, which we have lost as a result of our own errors, and which was mercilessly and unscrupulously exploited by the enemy. The struggle for regaining credibility may only be concluded with our success, if our party and state activity is concentrated on socioplitical and economical problems, which are vitally important today and for tomorrow.

I consider that if somebody wants to involve the party in a new discussion about the 1970's, and indeed such tendencies are visible, then this would bring to us irreparable losses. I do not consider that at present we need -- I stress this word -- a general party discussion on the subject of the period between August and December. I do of course realize that a critical analysis of the past is needed, but the point is that in our party the philosophy of account settling has become deeply rooted, which caused considerable damage. If today it were once again to become the main content of ideological and political life of the party, this would mean nothing else but turning one's face to the past, and turning one's back to the future. I fear that if we proceed in such a direction, then the moral and political position of the party in the community will be subject to further weakening. The chance to regain credibility would be subject to considerable weakening, and who knows whether it might be completely annulled.

In the context of our political actions, I consider it expedient to comment on the proposals -- published last Monday -- of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs. These proposals were made as a result of the conviction that silence, further silence on the issue of the future of trade unions, ceases to be advantageous for us. It was necessary to come out with an offensive. In the discussion at the present plenum, some speakers expressed surprise that these proposals were not presented -- before publication -- to the Central Committee. One of the discussion participants suggested that this was some sort of deliberate glossing over the role of the party, [words indistinct]. These are suggestions based on suppositions and unjustified suspicions.

In fact the issue presents itself as follows: The draft proposals worked out by the committee were presented at the Central Committee Secretariat.

They were consulted on with the first secretaries of voivodship committee, and later reached a session of the Politburo. The question of authorship of the proposals was seriously considered.

I wish also to say a few words on the subject of our relations with the intelligentsia. My evaluation, rather critical, of the bearing and actions of the Polish intelligentsia between August and December, I presented publicly. This served once again as an excuse to direct against me the already traditional reproach that I am guided by emotions, that I am an embittered, unjust old man, in brief disgruntled. Well the fact is that one should not confuse a critical evaluation, on merit, of this social groups bearing and actions with a disregard for this group, with a haughty attitude toward it.

We must win that very significant social group over to our policies. An intelligentsia which is silent, even if only indifferent toward our program, is no way out. And it may assume such a posture, if it senses in our assessments and opinions the slightest note of mockery and haughty, I stress haughty, disregard.

At this plenum we talked a lot about the need to restore party unity, and basing it on firm, clearly defined Marxist-Leninist principles, ideological principles. Our appeals and challenges are most certainly justified. If the increase in party discipline does not take place, if the essential discussions are replaced by undermining actions, by allusions and vague suggestions, as well as reproaches, then this unity so desired by us will not come about. I consider that those practices should not have a place in our party. It is a waste of energy, which is so needed in the struggle for restoring the credibility of our measures.

I wish to be deeply convinced that both the report delivered by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the resolution which we are passing, will give correct direction and impetus to the healing processes in the party. We need nothing as much today as we need party unity.

Kubiak Speech Detailed

LD261878 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0736 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Taking the floor at the PZPR Central Committee discussion yesterday Hieronim Kubiak, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, said:

I am not trying to ingratiate myself with intellectuals or anyone else. I have, however been fighting -- just like others and only like others -- for many years in order to win over everyone who can be won over who is not our enemy, who finds himself in such a situation that he can be found for us.

Talents cannot be distributed by passing decrees nor can they be deployed by means of politics. We must protect every genuine talent; if it is possible to win back such talents for us, for our cause, for socialist Poland, this is, I believe, may obligation as Central Committee Secretary -- to fight for this.

Referring to the speech by Albert Kosowski, Hieronim Kubiak raised the question of the Culture Department, for which he is responsible as Central Committee secretary. He said:

Does it have a clear policy or not? This department has only one policy; only one, for it can have no other. This policy arises from the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress, where for the first time many wise and clear words were spoken about cultural issues. The document in question here -- the long-term program of cultural development -- was a document on which we at the Central Committee Culture Department had worked from the time this department was created.

We consulted with an enormous number of party groups on it. Of course, most people may (not see) this. I wish to say with all responsibility that this program was presented for discussion by the Central Committee Culture Department.

This program is to be introduced at a session of the Sejm, solving the problems of Polish professional culture in accordance with Poland's socialist interests.

This program contains -- for the first time in a very long while -- not details defining the groups of artists, but above all the fundamental question: What ("Contribution) will be made for the development of culture by [words indistinct] those who participate in this culture. It also questions whether everyone has equal access to the highest values of culture.

These are the basic questions that have been formulated in this program. Therefore, both today and always, I am prepared to defend this program.

Now just a short word about two more matters. The first concerns the evaluation of personnel in publishing and film groups. We are preparing very meticulously for these evaluations. We shall carry them out on the basis of all our party ethics and wisdom, in such a way as to create for everyone who wishes to work creatively in conditions of socialism -- for us who live in our constitutionally clearly defined country -- the appropriate framework for this creativity. At the same time we shall renounce those who do not want to accept such conditions.

Many comrades have spoken of the inefficiency of our scientific milieux in research for the economy. This disturbs all of us who belong to this milieu. We know exactly that at present our civic worth is being tested. We know that the evaluation of Polish scholarship depends on whether, as the people who have been educated from the resources earned by the working class, we can manage to help the country now.

For several weeks we have been preparing a very penetrating [word indistinct], not in the sphere of general practice, but precisely from the point of view of these concrete matters, large and small. And this we are really able to do.

On 17 March, if I remember correctly, the Central Committee will hold a wide-ranging realistic discussion on these matters.

Now a final, this time very personal, matter. The comrades often speak of passivity. It is said and written about me that allegedly I am in the center of somewhere in some left-wing opportunistic group, revisionist-opportunistic group, and various other things. I should like to suggest to the comrades a formula for defining and solving this problem in the party, precisely at this moment when every pair of hands are needed for the common program.

I feel that in this type of party, to which I have belonged since the age of 18 -- for over 30 years -- the question whether someone is leftist or not is decided by his attitude to the party's program. (?If) the program is leftwing, then the party through its program is leftwing, and the bearing of the party members is decided by their attitude to the party program their knowledge of it, their intellectual and emotional recognition, their boundless, utter involvement in the implementation of this program.

This is how I understand my leftwing party stance, and I serve this leftwing stance as best as I can.

Kociolek Speech Reviewed

LD270050 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0520 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, addressed the Seventh Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. In assessing the struggle waged during 1980-81, he said: This was a struggle for the renewal of the party, a struggle for its Marxist-Leninist orientation and against opportunism and sectarianism.

Kociolek continued: 1980-81 was a time of battle for the state, too, as the most important part of the organization of the national life and of its every cell. These were times of battles for the authority of the state and of the state executive.

Battles were being fought for concentrating the public around solving the most urgent problems, for amending the course of Polish social, economic and state matters and for animating self-management and the responsibility of self-management. These were the battles for the national unity as far as our policy of friendships and alliances was concerned, friendships and alliances which were the only natural ones in following a socialist course of action. Thus, we were following the historic course of Poland after the war and progressing in accordance with our party's policy and in accordance with the national interests which are identical to the interests of the socialist state. However, there was also another course. Our course was opposed by another orientation: a front of the struggle for another social system. This was a battle between the socialist forces and counterrevolution.

Against this background, various controversies which we used to have within our party became controversies of secondary importance. The struggle was waged for matters of far greater importance than many of the controversies we had within the party.

Kociolek went on: different assessments and classifications of the struggle waged by the party are persistently being put forward by the media. One of the papers said that both before August 1980 and afterward, there was and still is, in the framework of the authorities' apparatus, a struggle between the forces which see in the current situation a historic chance for socialism in Poland and the forces opposed to the renewal and reform of the social system. The paper further said that there is a dialectical connection between the extremists from the right who do not exclude a possibility of a long-term boycott of the people's authorities' undertakings and the doctrinal extremists who consider the current situation as a suitable moment for revenge. The more the presence of the latter is felt, the more opportunities the former have for action and increased understanding among serious public circles.

Different assessments are thus persistently put forward, assessments different than the ones formulated by the ninth party congress and in the resolutions of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum and in the current report presented by Comrade Jaruzelski to the Central Committee. It is plain to see that there is a different classification of the battles which we have waged.

These assessments, Kociolek said, are deformities. These deformities and the campaign of hatred which is being developed against the party are trying to create a controversy concerning today and the future, concerning the socialist orientation of renewal. These varied assessments are all antithesis and formulations serving a certain defined political intention, an intention to reduce the party.

When the party is gathering strength, Kociolek continued, and is looking for its place in the changing conditions, it is striving for the realization of the statute and the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The sharp outlining of internal divisions imposed on the party -- most often, from outside the party -- expresses the intention of keeping the party split; this is against the intention of Comrade Jaruzelski's report. Is the point then to relegate the party to a secondary position, to a lower level, to present the party as an association full of quarrels in order to stress the leading role of, as it is called, the emanation of political forces' coalitions which are wielding power in Poland?

What kind of emanation is it? What kind of forces are those which the party as a political construction and as an organization of a program of its own, is not an element of? We have sufficiently tasted the results of a different emanation of political forces which was supposed to consist of dividing power in a new system encompassing Solidarity, the church and the government.

These concepts do not serve the continuation of the line of the Ninth PZPR Congress. The problem is not a question of whether the line of agreement was the right line. The problem lies in whether the policy which we were implementing was the best possible one from the point of view of the real interests of Socialist Poland.

Kociolek then said: I am not proposing a debate or a settlement of the accounts; we must face the future. I only want to stress that an attack against the social system was developed a long time ago. I believe that we were sticking too rigidly to the interpretation that the intentions of a large majority of Solidarity were clear, that the extremists could be spearated from the base, and that an agreement could be reached.

Forces developed a large campaign of removing Poland from its system of alliances. We reacted to this in the resolutions of the Central Committee and in government statements. But there was a deadly danger rising in the form of unbridled nationalism. An antistate was being built which became increasingly clear after the Solidarity congress.

Unfortunately, in the party the line claiming that the greatest danger was in a lack of understanding still had significant influence.

The imposition of martial law has created the prospect of the beginning of economic rebuilding. A problem of national importance is maintaining or improving our position among fraternal countries and all nations. The economy is an indispensable key to solve this problem.

Kociolek concluded: It is necessary to consider measures which in the future will support the aims of the economic reform.

PZM Officer's Criticism

LD261528 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] No dateline received] On the second day of the plenum debate the main theme continued to be party issues and the style and methods of work in the conditions affecting our country. One of the speakers was M. Otawa, an officer of the Polish Steamship Company (PZM). He drew attention to the intense propaganda pressure exerted by Western mass media on crews of Polish ships.

Of 7,000 PZM sailors and officers 140 have failed to return home, including 7 party members. This shows that sailors have succumbed to this propaganda to an insignificant extent. Otawa also stressed the esoteric nature of the language used by the theoreticians of Marxism. This language cannot be easily assimilated by a wide range of recipients.

Dealing with personnel policy, Otawa drew attention to the need to smash the so-called personnel setups [uklady personalne] at all levels of management. Neither the state authorities nor the party have yet displayed any consistency in combating detrimental phenomena in personnel policy. The speaker also drew attention to the imperfections of the legal system, which provides citizens with a feeling neither of security nor of social justice, while it enables many people to live beyond their means, in particular in the so-called private sector. Concluding, he censured the export of fuel by Poland, while this comprises 40 percent of PZM expenditure.

SEVENTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DISCUSSED

Aktivs Discuss Plenum Results

LD262100 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] The results of the 2-day session of the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum have met with an extensive response not only among party members. The results of the Seventh of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum were discussed today at meetings of party organizations and at gatherings in which members of the central echelons of the PZPR participated. These gatherings were held, among others, in Warsaw with the participation of the party aktivs of workers and creative and academic communities, and also in party organizations of Bialystok Voivodship. The gathering of the party aktiv of the Cegielski factory in Poznan reaffirmed that the key matter for the party is the support of working people and their confidence in and understanding for the policy of the PZPR.

Opalko at Debica Meeting

LD271854 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Stanislaw Opalko, member of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Tarnow, has met with party activists in Debica. In the course of a direct exchange of opinions and reflections, it was agreed that the path guaranteeing the implementation of the decisions adopted by the seventh plenum lies in the stimulation of the initiative of party members in factories, towns and villages and in the implementation of measures which will gain the support of the people and consolidate the prestige of the party.

Labecki at Gdansk Meeting

LD271850 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Further meetings with members of central party authorities are taking place. The meetings are devoted to a discussion of the seventh plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and its resolutions.

The meeting of party activists of the tri-city district in Gdansk was attended by Jan Labecki, member of the Central Committee Politburo. He shared his reflections on the plenum's debates and replied to questions. He stated that the main current of the session and the most important conclusions stemming from it concerned activity aimed at strengthening the party's unity. A significant step in this direction will be the formulation of an ideological declaration in which the entire party ought to participate. Attention was drawn at the meeting, on the one hand, to the need for the broadest and quickest possible dissemination of the resolutions of the Central Committee and, on the other hand, to the need for involvement in the practical solving of the concrete problems in various milieux. The need for party members to act vigorously and in a businesslike manner in social commissions and national salvation committees and in the implementation of the economic reform was also pointed out.

Natorf on TV

LD010037 Warsaw PAP in English 1905 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Feb (PAP) -- "The new international conditions necessitate an analysis of what position the Polish foreign [word indistinct] must adopt in this situation," stated PUWP CC foreign Department Chief Wlodzimierz Natorf in an interview for Polish Television today.

"We must consider," said Natorf, "what are the real intentions and motives of the actions aimed against Poland and the USSR, whether it does not mean something more serious and dangerous than just an attempt at hampering Poland's extrication from the crisis.

"It is known that blackmail and escalation of threats are (?bound) to lead -- if continued -- to a break-off of the international dialogue and cooperation, destruction of the structures of detente worked out in the 1970's, revival of the cold war, but in completely new conditions. We do not want to create a psychosis of menance," stressed Natorf, "but responsible people must take the worst into account."

Speaking about the attitude of the communist and workers' parties in the Western and developing countries towards the Polish affairs, the PUWP CC Foreign Department chief said that generally, the decision of the Polish communists met with support and understanding of those parties.

"But in some communist parties there also exists a current of doubt or even of violent criticism of what has happened in Poland after December 13.

"We are open to criticism," stated Natorf, "but we cannot agree to some Western communist parties exploiting the Polish crisis to impose their conceptions."

ZYCIE WARZAWY Comment

LD010932 Warsaw PAP in English 0826 GMT 1 Mar 82

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Mar (PAP) -- "At its plenary session the party emphatically renewed the offer of national accord defended before December 13 by all realistically thinking social and political forces. By the very nature of our socio-political system, it is the workers' party that must be the leading force of that accord. Without it, it would be only a rump creation deprived of the possibility for practical operation," said ZYCIE WARZAWY in a commentary by Zdzislaw Morawski discussing the outcome of the 7th PUWP CC Plenum.

"This is also why the process of complete rebirth of the Polish United Workers' Party is so important for the party, but also for the majority of our society -- people of no party affiliation. It is the party's task to bring home this truth to the factories, the villages, and the universities," added the daily.

"The resolution passed by the 7th plenum after a lively and at times even very heated discussion takes up all the basic problems of our current situation. It comes out decisively in favour of reform and rebirth of a strong, self-governed trade union movement upholding the socialist system."

"The 7th plenum approved an ideological-programmatic declaration of the Polish United Worker's Party which will become the subject of party-wide discussion. The course and outcome of this discussion is expected to have a decisive impact on life inside the party and its relationship with the entire society. These two factors precisely will determine the basic direction of development of the domestic situation in Poland, a situation still fraught with many threats and potential dangers.

"Removal of these threats and dangers is the task for the entire party, the state and society -- or at least of its active part. The activity headed in this direction has now acquired its ideological and political programme framework. This framework, being the [word indistinct] of determination as well as moderation, gives every active member of our society room for reflection and action as well," concluded ZYCIE WARZAWY.

COMMUNIQUE ON 25-26 FEB EPISCOPATE PLENUM

Text of Communique

LD281448 Vatican City in Polish to Poland 0500 GMT 28 Feb 82

["Text" of communique on the 183d Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland held in Warsaw on 25-26 February]

[Text] The 183d Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland was held in Warsaw on 25-26 February 1982. The agenda and the materials for discussion were prepared by the Main Council of the Episcopate which met in Warsaw on 24 February 1982.

The Main Council session and the plenary conference session were chaired by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland. The primate of Poland informed the members of the plenary conference about the trip by the delegation of the Episcopate to the Eternal City, which took place 4-11 February 1982.

The delegation consisted of the primate; Cardinal Franciszek Macharski, metropolitan archbishop of Krakow; and archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, metropolitican of Wroclaw. The delegation was received on several occasion by the Holy Father John Paul II. Discussed during the audiences were important internal church matters and also the tasks of the church in the special situation in which our country finds itself. The holy father stressed this everlasting bond with the homeland. He displayed a lively interest in the efforts being mounted by the church in Poland to ease the hard lot of the people and also in the initiatives being undertaken to find ways out of the multifaceted crisis.

Polish bishops together with the whole of God's people, express heartfelt gratitude to the holy father for his incessant concern for the fates of the church and of the homeland and for the prayers for our intention.

The council documents read: Adhering faithfully to the gospel and fulfilling its mission on earth, the church, whose task it is to support and elevate everything that is real, good and beautiful in human society, strengthens peace amongst people for the glory of God.

The activities of the church are not of a political nature. The Episcopate considers its mission, at the moment, is to urge the conclusion of a social agreement for the good of the entire nation.

Social accord needs to be based on the truth, justice, freedom and love, as John XXIII put it. The awareness and acceptance of these requirements by all Poles is the real and vital necessity of the moment. The Second Vatican Council teaches that, in order, as a result of everyone sticking with his opinions, for the political community not to fall apart, it is essential to have authorities which would direct the forces of all the citizens toward the common good, and this not in a mechanical or despotic way, but above all as a moral force based on freedom and the awareness of the burden of the duty undertaken.

This statement of the council coincides with the historical experiences of the entire world, that by physical force alone -- even the greatest -- one cannot honestly and permanently resolve the problems of state life. Social accord should contain guarantees for the justified needs and aspirations of society; for the coparticipation of citizens in public life and in exercising social control. The parties to a social accord are the ruling powers and credible representatives of organized social groups. The representatives of the temporarily suspended trade unions, and among them NSZZ Solidarity, which has broad social approval, cannot be missing here.

Social accord makes demands on all parties, the government is expected to create a climate suitable for the accord in which it can unfold and come to fruition.

The two fundamental components of this climate are: the sincere readiness of the authorities to listen to the voice of all social groups in free and responsible debate and the guaranteeing of basic civic freedoms based on the recognition of human dignity.

That is why the bishops, together with the entire community, expect that martial law will end as soon as possible; those interred will be released; those sentenced by actions related to martial law will benefit from amnesty; those in hiding will be assured a safe passage into light. In addition, no one should be dismissed from work for trade union membership.

Religion and culture are of fundamental importance for the existence of social accord. That is why it is imperative to ensure full freedom for religious life and development of culture. A concrete manifestation of this freedom will be, among other things, the reactivation of the activities of the Catholic intelligentsia clubs, distribution of Catholic publications in accordance with the needs of the believing community, and the guaranteeing of pluralism in cultural activity.

Against this background, profound alarm is occasioned by the removal of crucifixes, by attempts to return to the programmed atheization of children and young people. This gives rise to a conflict in the consciences of not only school pupils but also of their teachers.

The social climate depends to a large extent on the young generation. This is why the bishops have devoted much attention to young people, particularly students. The Episcopate appeals to the authorities to make it possible for young people very soon to indulge in organizational life which promotes cultural, social and moral development.

Social accord makes demands not only on the authorities but also on the whole of society. It is society's duty to adhere to the feeling of reality in assessing the geopolitical situation of our country. This does not mean either conforming with or resigning from supreme national values. Realism and prudence require that we do not accept the principle of all or nothing. This requires that we thoroughly think out for ourselves the problem of work for the common good, that we avoid imprudent collective reactions, that we wisely define our individual and social demands and that we take a long-term view of our national future.

We are aware of the fact that the effective fulfillment of these tasks by the authorities and society is something that is mutually dependent.

There are many more problems to be found in this sphere but the matters we have touched on constitute pointing the direction in which the search for solutions and the solutions themselves are to be found. The bishops are most profoundly convinced that one cannot build social accord in our country without a foundation of love based on the gospel; love which requires magnanimous conciliation and forgiveness.

Christ prompts us in a particular way to this forgiving love -- Christ whose torment and death we reflect on during Lent. In just the same way as the death of Christ on the cross was not a defeat but a triumph, then our love is not an expression of weakness but of spiritual strength which builds our future. In this Christian attitude the Episcopate once more makes an ardent appeal to all of God's people to pray patiently, incessantly and confidently for the triumph of love over hatred. The bishops recommend particularly warmly that the holy rosary be said in families and in churches -- at least one rosary mystery every Sunday, dedicated to the homeland. Let us embark on a prayer-based rosary campaign over a period of 14 months -- from May of this year until August 1983 -- as a period of a special anniversary connected with the 600th anniversary of the image of Our Lady of Czestochowa, queen of Poland. The Polish Episcopate expresses profound gratitude for the assistance given to Polish society from other countries; our country still needs assistance from other countries in order to achieve economic stabilization.

The Episcopate also expresses the conviction that the achievement of national accord will be an important factor in guaranteeing the development of economic cooperation with other countries.

The bishops listened to reports on the work carried out by individual commissions of the Episcopate. At the end of the conference the bishops bestowed a blessing on the exhausted fatherland and on all its inhabitants.

Warsaw Radio Report

LD281148 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0851 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Pastoral announcement made by unidentified priest during the 28 February services at the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw -- live]

[Excerpt] A plenary conference of the Episcopate of Poland was held in Warsaw on 25 and 26 February. In the communique that was published, we read in part:

The Polish bishops discussed with the most profound concern the problems which are now facing our country. In a wide-ranging discussion, they agreed that the situation in which the country and nation find themselves bears the hallmarks of a real moral, social and economic catastrophe. This is not an isolated matter but is connected with the global situation. Bearing in mind the fact that this catastrophic situation is worsening all the time, the bishops feel obliged to make their opinions known in the spirit of the teachings of the Second Vatican Council.

The activities of the church are not of a political nature, the Episcopate considers that its current mission is to urge the conclusion of a social agreement for the good of the entire nation. As John XXIII said, social accord needs to be based on law, justice, freedom and love. The awareness and acceptance of these requirements by all Poles is the real and vital necessity of the moment. The parties to a social accord are the ruling powers and credible representatives of organized social groups. The representatives of the temporarily suspended trade unions -- and among them is NSZZ Solidarity, which has broad social approval -- cannot be left out.

Social accord makes demands on all parties. The government is expected to create a suitable climate for the accord so that it can unfold and come to fruition. The two fundamental components of this climate are: the authorities' sincere willingness to heed the voice of all social groups in free and responsible debate and the guaranteeing of basic civil freedoms based on the recognition of human dignity.

Social accord makes demands not only on the authorities but also on the whole of society. It is society's duty to adhere to the feeling of reality in assessing the geopolitical situation of our country. This does not mean either conforming with or resigning from the supreme national values. [sentence as heard] Realism and prudence require that we do not accept the principle of "all or nothing," just the opposite. We ought to strive systematically, persistently and gradually toward the implementation of our aims. This requires that we thoroughly think out for ourselves the problem of work for the common good, that we avoid imprudent collective reactions, that we wisely define our individual and social demands and that we take a long-term view of our national future.

We are aware of the fact that the effective fulfillment of these tasks by the authorities and society is something that is mutually dependent. The bishops are most profoundly convinced that one cannot build social accord in our country without a foundation of love based on the Gospel, love which requires magnanimous conciliation and forgiveness. The Episcopate once more makes an ardent appeal to the people of God to pray patiently, incessantly and confidently for the triumph of love over hatred.

The bishops have bestowed a pastoral blessing on the exhausted fatherland and on all of its inhabitants.

PAP INTERVIEWS INTERIOR MINISTER ON MARTIAL LAW

LD282106 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Feb 82

["Full text" of PAP interview with Interior Minister Lt Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and member of the Military Council of National Salvation -- date and place not given; read by announcer]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, the premier's Sejm speech of 25 January this year and his address to the seventh plenum of the party's Central Committee outlined the conditions for, and possibilities of further curtailment of the restrictions of martial law. How is the situation now in this respect?

[Answer] The easing and lifting of the martial law restrictions closely depend on the development of the situation in the country. I would like to recall that as the process of normalization gradually got underway we passed a number of successive decisions easing the publicly irksome restrictions. Thus, for instance, the curfew was shortened -- initially in certain voivodships and subsequently throughout the country.

Currently, as we know, it is in force between the hours of 2300 and 0500. The inhabitants of numerous southern voivodships have been released from obligation of obtaining permits to change their place of stay, in order to make it possible for them to avail themselves of leisure activities in recreational and leisure establishments.

The publication of numerous dailies, weeklies and periodicals, published both centrally and locally, was resumed, as was the second program of radio and television and the fourth program of Polish radio. Many established programs also went back on the air and radio Polonia is also operating.

The obligation to obtain permits to hold assemblies convened by organs of state authority and administration for youth, cooperative and other organizations has been rescinded. Citizens have also been released from the obligation to obtain permits to hold meetings organized to mark family celebrations. It should also be recalled that cinemas and theater were reopened; sports events and charter flights abroad are being organized. These decisions have reaffirmed the gradual process of normalization of the situation in the country.

However, it is necessary to emphasize, at the same time, that there have also been cases where stiffer restrictions of the martial law were reintroduced, because of disruptions to public order, such as in Gdansk and Poznan, for instance. After 25 January, in implementation of the premier's guidelines contained in his Sejm speech, a number of further martial law restrictions were eased. Thus, persons leaving for sanatoria and leisure centers, or traveling within the boundaries of a voivodship, persons above 60 years of age and children below 10 years of age, persons called in by offices and institutions, persons commuting to a place to pursue educationsal courses and those who are leaving boarding-houses, student halls of residence, workers' hostels for a place of their permanent abode on their free days, have been released from the obligation to obtain permits to change their place of stay.

The publication of many other dailies, weeklies and 140 specialist periodicals has been resumed. Many organizations and institutions have been allowed to publish their own bulletins. All regional broadcasting stations of the Polish radio, except one, as well as four regional television centers have resumed broadcasting.

One hundred and ninety-five sociocultural associations hve been permitted to resume their activities. Intercity and intervoivodship telephone calls and calls arranged in the telephone exchanges and the national telephone network have been made operational.

In accordance with the premier's announcement, further decisions are being prepared, concerning the scope of martial law restrictions. Among other things, as of 1 March this year the obligation to obtain permits to change one's place of stay will be rescinded; that is to say the freedom of movement in accordance with the regulations as of before 13 December 1981 is being brought back. Persons over 60 years of age, young people below 10 years of age, persons sent for treatment to sanatoria and leisure centers, participants in collective tourist and sports excursions, participants in cultural and educational shows are released from the obligation to obtain permits for a temporary stay in the frontier zone. The curfew is being lifted for taxi drivers from the same date. The obligation to obtain permission to organize courses by existing social organizations is rescinded when such activity is to provide qualifications or preparation for persons in particular professions, to provide qualifications as regards offering services of various kinds and improving the running of homes.

Furthermore, the establishment of automatic telephone communications between Warsaw and the voivodship cities, national and international telex communications, especially for the needs of scientific institutes, trading agencies and tourist and sanatorium complexes, the establishment of international telegraph communications for compassionate cases and the restoration of international telephone communications are anticipated.

The possibility of the gradual reestablishment of activities of scientific, cultural, educational, sports, tourist, and cultivators and breeders associations will be considered in March. Also in March we anticipate a further broadening of principles of personal exchanges, including with the European socialist states, the return of individual motor tourism organized via the Polish Motorists Union, private journeys to relatives and friends, and the employment of Polish citizens on the territory of those states. As regards foreigners from capitalist states, the possibility of private journeys by public transport, after purchasing of Polish currency from Polish travel offices [sentence as heard]. The possibility of introducing other facilities is also being examined.

Looking through this extensive list of martial law restrictions which have been eased, one could come to the conclusion that by introducing this law [stan] the intended aims have been achieved. Is such a conclusion correct? In relation to the basic aims, yes. The leadership structures of the opposition forces, the leadership centers of the counter-revolution, including groups and centers of illegal organizations such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland, have been paralyzed. As a result, the real danger of confrontation (?of) fratricidal conflict has been averted, a dam has been put in the path of strikes and other destructive actions which were ruining the national economy, and the anarcy and chaos which were enveloping our country have been brought under control. Work discipline has improved, coal extraction has improved, the production of copper concentrate, cement and various machines for agriculture has increased and transportation is working better.

Favorable trends in livestock breeding have appeared. Conditions which enable the implementation of the economic reform, which should bring impulses which will gradually enliven our economy, have been created.

As a result of the clear reduction in crime, the citizens' feeling of security has grown. To achieve these results it was necessary to use extraordinary means, which create -- as we are fully aware -- definite inconvenience for all citizens, but which were inevitable in view of the scale of the threats.

However, many problems still remain to be solved. The phenomenon of the mass relaxation of social discipline has been brought under control, but anarchistic tendencies nevertheless remain. These appear in some milieux in the form of attempts to stir up social unrest, to disturb law and order and oppose the martial law regulations. The walls of our towns and housing estates have been cleaned of aggressive propaganda, provocative slogans and posters. However, in various public places, with the aid of leaflets and hostile slogans, unrest is still being formented. We also note attempts at a renewed activation of illegal, antistate and antisocialist publications. The calm and public order restored with such effort is still being disrupted by attempts to organize collective manifestations and demonstrations, in which attempts are made to involve above all young people, to exploit their natural spontaneity and lack of experience of life and politics.

Despite the substantial drop in the number of crimes the potential crime threat is still considerable. Alongside the traditional, so to speak, forms of crime, like robbery with assault, burglary and theft, particular condemnation must be aroused by acts bearing the stamp of terror, which have a specific implication in the current political situation. The planting of explosive material at a filling station in Lubin, where there were 28,000 liters of gasoline, could have caused a massacre of the inhabitants of the town and incalculable material losses. The attack on and disarming of a soldier of the Polish Army or the fatal attack on the Citizen's Militia official in Warsaw, are examples of the problems which we have yet to solve.

So the vital necessity still exists to retain the rigors of the state of martial law. This is dictated to a considerable extent also by the [word indistinct] needs of the economy. The policy of some Western governments also has a considerable influence on the continuation of that state. They want to oppose political and economic stabilization in Poland.

The economic restrictions and the loud propaganda campaigns serve their inspirers and authors, but at the same time harm our country. It would be worthwhile for our society to become well aware of this.

What rigours will be retained? Those which result from the very essence of the state of martial law; and so: summary military jurisdiction and the regulations on internment and censorship. Nor do we envisage the lifting in the immediate future of the ban on strikes and the ban on convening and holding assemblies of a broader nature by associations, social and cooperative organizations. The summary procedure before lower courts will be retained for failure to observe the regulations resulting from the decree on the state of martial law. We cannot yet relinquish the application of limitations which promote the fight against crime, economic stabilization and chiefly an improvement in the market situation and a further improvement in public law and order and public safety. The possibility cannot be ruled out of a restoration of increased rigors in regions of Poland where breaches of the peace and public safety might occur, although I hope and desire that it should not come to that in the future.

It would be a mistake to treat attempts to limit the rigors of the martial law as an expression of the weakness of the authorities or yielding to pressure from outside. I wish to stress clearly that there will be no tolerance for those who disturb the social peace. Organizers of attempts to resist the present regulations will be treated with full severity. In particular those who attempt to apply against the authorities terrorist methods of struggle alien to our mentality and those who dream about conspiratorial organizations or underground structures will be treated with full and remorseless severity. There will be no leniency.

Public opinion is systematically informed about actions undertaken by the forces of law and order against those who infringe the martial law regulations and about the internment of a certain number of persons. Today nobody believes in the tales disseminated by the hostile propaganda about tens of thousands of internees kept in freezing conditions without food. However these matters, and in particular the issue of internees, are still taken advantage of by Western propaganda and, in our country, too, fantastic stories are frequently disseminated.

We do not hide from public opinion any information connected with these problems. In the period 13 December last year through 26 February this year a total of 6,647 people were interned. This is not a constant number because there are still cases of internment of people whose activity harms or threatens the interests of the state. We also have 10 cases of reinternment of people who, after their release, contrary to the pledges made, undertook activities harmful to the state. As regards some people released from internment, criminal proceedings have been initiated against them. They will be treated in accordance with the martial law regulations. In the period of martial law, 2,552 people have been released from internment, and this number is increasing.

As of 26 February there are 4,095 people in the internment centers. In the last few days internment orders have been waived in respect to a group of about 300 people. It is envisaged that further releases will take place but this will depend on the further stabilization of social life and normalization of the situation in our country. The behavior and attitude of the internees is significant and perhaps decisive. Unfortunately there is no shortage of those among them who demonstratively stress their hostility to the system and to the authorities of the socialist state, thus leaving no doubts whatsoever that they will not cease activity which is harmful to our country.

One must also stress clearly that an increasing number of people, after cooling off from their initial emotions and making a careful analysis of the general and personal situation, are now adopting attitudes full of reason and caution. This, after all, is our goal.

By the way, I feel the need to make a certain general remark connected with the issue of human attitudes.

We often find astonishing facts here. For instance a man whose name is well known in our country, known in the past for his very critical attitude to the authorities, who virtually publicly demonstrated his criticism in his famous writings, during his stay abroad decisively refuses to take part in the noisy anti-Polish propaganda activities and strives to return to his country. Another man, also popular, of undoubted talent in acting, who in the past engaged in activities which had a clearly negative political character, who played the role of an enemy of the authorities -- which was in fashion until recently -- during his stay abroad also refuses to be drawn into any anti-Polish actions and adoptes a stance which is full of reason and caution, worthy of a patriot. These are not the only two cases.

Unfortunately we also know reverse cases. For instance, people -- including well-known names -- who owe everything to People's Poland and in the last 10 years reached, one could say, fame and recognition and also gained considerable material wealth, right now are making various angry gestures or even are serving our enemies and are playing an ambiguous [dwuznaczna] role as constant collaborators of the diplomatic offices of states hostile to our country.

[Question] On 25 January this year the premier, Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski stated in his Sejm speech that the authorities would not stand in the way of persons who, because of their antistate political activities so far would wish to settle in other countries of their choice. Are appropriate decisions being made regarding this matter?

[Answer] I have issued relevant instructions to the passport organs. The introduction of numerous regulations which will make things easier for those who are leaving for a temporary stay abroad is also being examined. A relevant communique will be issued on this over the next few days.

[Question] It is difficult to resist the impression that in this situation the role of the services commanded by the comrade general is particularly difficult, and possibly carries more responsibilities than it has ever had to before?

[Answer] Indeed. The times in which it has befallen us to live and work require resoluteness and, at the same time, particular responsibility, particular caution in action. As far as the cases of internees are concerned, each case must be examined individually. We must ponder all the pros and cons. We are trying to ensure that the onerousness of the very fact of being interned should not exceed what is absolutely essential. We are also trying to make sure that the consequences of individual persons being isolated should entail the minimal possible negative social results. [as heard]

[Question] What conditions are the internees in?

[Answer] We have ensured fair conditions for all internees. Some of them, among them persons over 55 years age, women, intellectuals and some others have been provided with good conditions. These matters are universally known, including abroad, since internment centers have repeatedly been visited by members of the Red Cross International Committee. Leaders of the church hierarchy, bishops and priests who render religious services without restrictions have also visited them and continue to do so. So far, they have celebrated more than 420 masses.

It is worth recalling that internees have received in excess of 30,000 parcels, even though their food supplies are adequate. In connection with the internees, church representatives maintain constant links with us. They stand out by mutual and reciprocated understanding. Among other things, we have made available for representatives of the church and the Polish Red Cross lists of persons who have been interned. I have had personal conversations on these topics with representatives of the Episcopate leadership.

[Question] Indeed, the press has said that representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross, together with activists of the Polish Red Cross, have visited internment centers. Are you, Comrade Minister, familiar with the results of these visits?

[Answer] On 26 February 1982, I received from Mr (Frank Schmidt), chairman of a delegation of the Red Cross International Committee, reports on the delegation's visit to several isolation centers for internees. The delegation of the Red Cross International Committee had the opportunity of holding unhindered talks with the internees and also of familiarizing itself with all the problems of internees' stay; especially those pertaining to their premises, food supplies, medical care and contacts with the outside world. It transpires from the reports of the Red Cross International Committee that the conditions in which the internees find themselves did not give rise to any substantial objections. (?Due to) detailed remarks of the Red Cross International Committee, some of them will have to be looked into and examined.

I would like to add that the delegation of the Red Cross International Committee has continued its work since January this year.

[Question] Comrade General, in the light of these facts and the facts given earlier, it is difficult to comprehend the voices of the Western press which have recently said that a new wave of repressions and arrests has swept our country.

[Answer] I know, information given by our press about the results of the operation codenamed "spokoj" [calm], carried out throughout the country by the Citizen's Militia and the Citizens' Militia Voluntary Reserves served as the pretext for these voices; a very naive pretext indeed.

This operation did not bear any specific character. We have carried out numerous similar operations in the past. This operation was aimed against antisocial elements and the criminal community.

In the framework of this action about 3,500 people were detained for a short period of time in order to provide explanations. Almost all of them returned home a few hours later. This act was treated as a wave of repression and arrests despite the fact that it was said in the same communique that precisely 252 criminals had been detained. It is worth noting that similar actions, and actions even on a much greater scale, are carried out by police in many Western countries, for instance there were recent mass raids in Italy or France. However, no one raises their voice because of this. Our opponents see in our country not things as they really are but what they would very much like to see. One can only pity sensation-seeking Western journalists who have become embroiled in a noisy defense of criminals, parasites and speculators. But one can be surprised at many Western politicians who have uncritically used such a trivial pretext for serious statements.

Unfortunately this is not an isolated occurrence and I do not think that it will be the last one. I want to make the following reflection, by the way: We have never maintained that our forces do not commit errors, that there are no transgressions in our work. Please believe me, however, that each such occurrence is thoroughly examined and analyzed by us. We put errors right and draw specific conclusions. But it is true that despite difficulties, and often dangerous, conditions of service, the functionaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs do not spare their strength, health and capabilities to carry out their tasks solidly.

DAILY INTERVIEWS FOREIGN MINISTER CZYREK

PM251121 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 19-21 Feb 82 pp 1, 3

[Henryk Zawira interview with Polish Foreign Minister and PZPR Politburo member Jozef Czyrek: "The Entire Nation's Work Determines the State's Role and Position" -- date and place of interview not specified]

[Text] GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Comrade Minister, how have the present events in Poland affected our foreign policy?

[Answer] Generally speaking, foreign policy is a function of domestic policy and, consequently, events in Poland have directly affected the content, the tasks and even the forms of Polish foreign policy's operations. At present the main task of Polish foreign policy is to create prerequisites in domestic policy for our crisis to be overcome rapidly and to the maximum possible extent. This is our main task now.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: How is this task being carried out?

[Answer] It is being carried out in many spheres. In the political, economic and scientific and technical spheres and in connection with our activities in the international sphere, for instance at the Madrid conference and at the United Nations. As far as the political sphere is concerned, I currently have in mind some specific tasks in relation to both our partners and friends from the socialist countries and Western countries which, as we know, have adopted an attitude unfavorable to our country. We have specific tasks in relation to Third World countries, the international workers movement, the international trade union movement and so forth.

In all these spheres our foreign policy has been faced with new tasks as a result of the present situation in Poland. As far as the socialist countries are concerned, it is a question of restoring Poland's position among the community countries because it has been weakened as a result of the current crisis. This is most perceptible in the economic sphere, where our cooperation has been consdierably reduced and weakened. Poland's role as a partner within the system of cooperation among the socialist countries has also been weakened. This has adversely affected both our interests and the interests of our partners.

While restoring our position we are relying on the assistance of the socialist countries -- both direct and indirect aid in the form of supplies which, let us say, have not been balanced by our supplies, especially raw materials, certain components and other necessary articles. Many examples could be given with respect to this. But our general objective is to ensure that, by improving its relations with socialist countries and becoming a reliable partner and member of the community, Poland can overcome its own difficulties in the development sphere in general and its economic difficulties in particular.

In view of the situation, we are faced with new tasks with respect to Western countries. As we know, those countries have adopted an unfriendly attitude toward us in the political sphere. Only a few of those countries and some prominent Western politicians have brought themselves to openly acknowledge that in the Polish context our decisions of 13 December were unavoidable and indispensable. That their objective was to stabilize both our domestic situation and the international situation -- especially in Europe -- and that the Polish people's attempt to resolve their own problems unaided is not only their right but their duty.

However, under U.S. pressure, most of those countries have been seeking to exert political pressure on Poland. That pressure has frequently taken the form of meddling in our domestic affairs and attempts to interfere which we firmly repudiate. So far most of those countries have failed to support American steps aimed at organizing a kind of economic blockade against our country. But nonetheless some of those countries have withdrawn instruments serving economic cooperation -- I refer to cooperation in the sphere of credits. This has created certain specific difficulties for Poland.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: In this connection, what tasks does our foreign service face?

[Answer] It can be said that, as far as the West is concerned, we are faced with three tasks with a view to protecting our positions and interests. First, we must not let any efforts to increase our country's political isolation succeed; second, we must oppose the threat of a kind of economic blockade; and third, we must resist any attempt to internationalize the so-called Polish question.

In all these three spheres our policy has been consistent, firm and active. it seems that we may feel sure that it will eventually become increasingly effective.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: Comrade Minister, is it now possible to detect any polarization of attitudes toward Poland in Madrid?

[Answer] the Madrid conference has been a classic example of attempts to internationalize the so-called Polish problem. The majority of Western foreign ministers went to Madrid determined to discuss Polish affairs there. Attempts were made at the same time to, as it were, turn the Madrid conference into a meeting dealing with and devoted to Poland. We have firmly resisted these attempts on the grounds that this type of policy is contrary to the principles of the Helsinki CSCE Final Act according to which there must be no meddling or interference in the domestic affairs of the states which signed the Final Act. I can state with complete confidence that as a result of our stance in Madrid, which has been responsible, dignified and patriotic, and of the support given to us by the fraternal socialist countries -- as well as of a more realistic attitude on the part of many sensible countries which realize that a stable Europe needs a stable Poland -- we have been able to thwart these attempts to turn the Madrid conference into a conference on Poland. True, some ministers expressed well-known views on our country, but the conference itself has been neither interrupted nor, above all, called off. At present, it may well continue its work aimed at drafting a final document.

Efforts to draft such a document in the immediate future may well be unsuccessful but it will undoubtedly be possible to renew them after an interval, in a situation more favorable to the conclusion of this work. To sum up, it can be said that attempts to turn the Madrid conference into a spectacle aimed against our country and, consequently, against the interests of European coexistence and cooperation have failed to bring the expected results because the majority of European countries wanted to preserve the Madrid conference as an important forum for the continuation of the policy of detente, dialogue and cooperation in Europe.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: As an inhabitant of Lodz I must ask you about the prospects for Lodz industry, which is mainly based on the processing of imported raw materials -- wool, cotton, leather and synthetic fibre -- in view of our country's blockade. Do these matters also fall within the sphere of the Foreign Ministry's interests? And can't the subject of prospects be mentioned here?

[Answer] As far as economic relations with foreign countries are concerned, the government's main task is to fulfill the nation's requirements with respect to food and to ensure employment for the people whenever possible. This involves the question of supplying our industry with the raw materials, components and spare parts it needs. And even though the Foreign Ministry does not deal with these matters directly in an operational trade sense, this problem is nontheless at the center of the attention of our foreign policy which, as I stated at the beginning, is and must be a function of our domestic policy whose aim is now to resolve our internal socioeconomic crisis.

Lodz is a major industrial center in Poland. It can be said that it is the heart of our country's light industry in general and at its textile industry in particular. And it is of essential importance for life and work not only in Lodz but throughout the country that supplies of basic raw materials and components for the industry be ensured.

As a government, we are seeking to ensure that these requirements are met to the greatest possible extent. However, we are faced with difficulties. We have sought to secure and we have secured certain supplies of Soviet cotton and we are seeking to secure further supplies within the framework of so-called contracted processing [przerob zlecony] by our industry. We are also trying to purchase cotton on other markets. Unfortunately, we find it difficult to fully meet our requirements because of a shortage of foreign exchange as a result, as I have already stated, of restrictions in the sphere of credit policy which we did not expect. After all, such credits were promised to us. In this connection a certain surprise factor has emerged. It always takes time to square balances, and the surprise factor has made this even more difficult.

Therefore, I am unable to state that all requirements will be met in the immediate future. Nonetheless, even though this may not sound too promising, we are doing all we can to meet these requirements to the greatest extent possible and create a situation in which it will be possible to meet them fully. It is an important matter. Not only for Lodz but also for the entire national economy.

We have suggested to our partners from the socialist community as well as to our western partners that our surplus processing potential in spheres of interest to them be utilized or that our processing services, which would ensure employment for the work forces and adequate income, be utilized. I believe that cooperation of this kind could well develop.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: What is now our position in the sphere of international scientific and cultural cooperation and so forth? It seems that such ties have weakened rather since the introduction of martial law. Has this been a result of some initiative on our part or of the generally known restrictions introduced against us?

[Answer] We have never sought to restrict our relations and cooperation with foreign countries. We believe that such cooperation is an important factor in the consolidation of peaceful relations and peaceful coexistence among countries with different systems and among nations living under different regimes. This is an organic part of our foreign policy. Economic factors are the main constraint on the extent of our cooperation. It is just that such cooperation necessitates a certain outlay which cannot be fully met at a time when the balance of payments and the trade balance show such a considerable deficit.

Nor must we be blind to certain attempts to restrict our cooperation sphere by some anti-Polish or cold war forces which want to take advantage of the situation to either restrict this peaceful cooperation or utilize it with a view to exerting pressure on our country. Even though unfrequent, these attempts are now perceptible. The majority of centers and scientists who have cooperated with us believe, irrespective of their views on the events in Poland, that scientific cooperation should be continued. We are willing to meet them halfway. We believe that cooperation must exist in the scientific sphere. Just as it must exist in the cultural sphere. People involved in the cultural sphere should enrich one another through an exchange of genuine values achieved by individual nations and cultural circles.

The Lodz scientific center plays an important role in the sphere of this cooperation. Its role in it is specific because a considerable number of prospective students from the third world who want to study at our higher educational establishments are trained in your city. Lodz plays a most important role in the implementation of our country's policy. It is a kind of investor with respect to cooperation between our country and many foreign countries in which specialists -- scientists and people connected with culture -- will work in the future. Those people will automatically have a special attitude toward our country, its culture, science and technology and will undoubtedly participate in this cooperation especially actively and energetically. I can state without hesitation that Lodz has made an investment in the future development of our relations and cooperation with foreign countries.

GLOS ROBOTNICZY: What conditions must be fulfilled in the country to ensure that our efforts in the international sphere bring results?

[Answer] There exists a kind of interconnection between the tasks which we set for ourselves in the international sphere and the events in the country. Our main objectives are to ensure the country's security and develop fruitful economic, cultural and scientific cooperation. However, all this can bear no fruit if we are unable to resolve in the country our own, Polish problems effectively and lastingly. In other words, the success of our foreign policy largely depends on the speed with which we overcome the threats to stable socialist development. And on how soon and how successfully we begin to carry out the great task of reforms which we are now initiating, taking advantage, among other things, of the stable situation to which the decision to introduce martial law has been conducive. Any successors on our part will depend on the patriotic commitment of our activists, publicists, creative artists and scientists to both productive work and relations with foreign countries.

After all, in the event of efforts being made to isolate Poland in the sphere of scientific cooperation it would be impossible to imagine how such efforts could be resisted without our scientists' active commitment.

Therefore, I would like clearly to state that the effectiveness of our foreign policy depends on the development of the situation in our country, on the way we overcome the crisis, on the implementation of a policy of reforms -- especially economic reforms -- and on every citizen's patriotic commitment at this place of work. For what determines a state's role and position is neither wishful thinking nor even the best intentions but realities and material facts which can only be the result of the entire nation's work.

GLOS RABOTNICZY: I thank you for the interview on behalf of the leaders of GLOS ROBOTNICZY.

PAP REPORTS TRADE PROTOCOL WITH GDR SIGNED

LD282124 Warsaw PAP in English 1902 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Feb (PAP) -- A protocol covering trade and the [word indistinct] of services between Poland and the German Democratic Republic in 1982 was signed here today.

The value of mutual commodity deliveries this year will exceed 1.5 billion roubles, with exports amounting to about 650 million roubles and imports from the GDR valued at about 850 million roubles. This is a slight increase compared to the level of last year's deliveries.

The structure and volume of mutual commodity deliveries take into account the realities linked with Poland's present economic situation. In exports, the volume of hard coal and consumer goods was curtailed. In imports from the German Democratic Republic the level of deliveries of the basic raw materials and components has been maintained and purchases of marketables have been increased.

Machines and industrial systems will continue to dominate the trade exchange.

The protocol (?was signed) by Wladyslaw Gwiazda, undersecretary of state at the Foreign Trade Ministry, and Dieter Lemke, the GDR deputy foreign trade minister.

WAJDA FILM 'MAN OF IRON' 'WITHDRAWN' FROM OSCARS

LD270030 Warsaw PAP in English 2056 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] 26 Feb (PAP) -- The Film Polski (The Polish Film Enterprise) has advised the Los Angeles academy that they withdraw Andrezej Wajda's "Man of Iron" from the final stage of the Oscar award competition, following the mounting anti-Polish campaign in the United States.

The issue of Andrzej Wajda's "Man of Iron" running for the award has won much publicity in the West of late.

"The Man of Iron" is on the list of five foreign movies running [word indistinct] the Los Angeles academy [words indistinct], a contest to be decided at the end of March.

RESTRICTIONS EASED IN GDANSK CITY, VOIVODSHIP

LD271630 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] According to a decision by the Gdansk Voivodship Defense Committee and by order of the Gdansk voivoda, the ban on holding conferences and training sessions in the city of Gdansk, organized by legal and corporate bodies, associations and social organizations, is lifted as of today.

The principles contained in the directive of the minister of internal affairs, dated 30 January this year, are in force.

Moreover, the obligation for persons residing in the city of Gdansk to obtain permission for each departure for another lcoality in the Gdansk Voividship is lifted as of today. However, in this case the general principles for crossing the borders of the voivodship continue to be in force.

AFP: INTERNEES CAN BE RELEASED IF PLEDGE RECEIVED

NC271952 Paris AFP in English 1941 GMT 2 Feb 82

[By Claudine Canetti]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Feb (AFP) -- Anyone detained under Polish martial law can be released provided they promise not to threaten state interests, according to Major Wieslaw Gornicki, the political advisor to Polish leader Wojceich Jaruzelski.

Major Gornicki made the statement today during an interview with three French journalists.

He said he was not referring to any "declaration of loyalty" because "loyalty is a broader notion", but rather to a commitment not to threaten state interests.

The last official count issued by Polish authorities on January 29 said 4,129 people had been interned since martial law was declared December 13.

Major Gornicki said the internments were "neither sentences nor punishments, but a political, administrative measures".

When asked whether the legal proceedings would be brought against Solidarity union militants for offenses prior to martial law, the major said only those who were under judicial inquiry before December 13 would go on trial. The others would be amnestied, he said.

Major Gornicki, meanwhile, confirmed that further relaxation of martial law measures would be announced tomorrow, in accordance with promises made by Gen Jaruzelski.

"Unfortunately," he said, "all constraints cannot be lifted because from time to time there are still violations of public order in certain localities."

He added that certain martial law changes, such as the militarization of some enterprises and the presence of regional military authorities," will be maintained because they guarantee discipline".

While some martial law restrictions were difficult for everyone, such as curfews and travel restrictions, others "serve society well", he said.

AUTHORITIES APPREHEND YOUTHS FOR PASSING LEAFLETS

LD262124 Warsaw PAP in English 2031 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Waraw, 26 Feb (PAP) -- Five 17-year old boys, secondary school pupils in Chelm, eastern Poland, who produced and distributed anti-state posters and leaflets denigrating the supreme state organs have been apprehended. They have been [words indistinct] curator's supervision by orders of the regional court in Chelm and investigation into the case has been started.

AGRICULTURAL COUNCIL PLENUM MEETING CONTINUES 26 FEB

AU262015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Bucharest, 26 Feb (AGERPRES) -- The proceedings of the plenary meeting of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management continued on Friday, February 26, in the presence of President Nicolae Ceausescu. It debated questions of high importance for the activity in agriculture. The plenary meeting also marked two momentous events in the life of the peasantry, of the entire Romanian people -- the anniversary of 75 years since the peasant uprising of 1907 and 20 years since the conclusion of the cooperativization of the Romanian agriculture.

The plenary meeting was attended, as invited guests, by first secretaries of country party committees, secretaries in charge of party activity in agriculture, directors-general of county agricultural departments, responsible cadres in ministries and central bodies, representatives of mass and public organizations, inhabitants of villages that revolted in 1907, participants in the cooperativization.

Also present were Romanian writers and journalists as well as foreign newspapermen that took part in the Bucharest international meeting on disarmament, security and peace.

127 participants took the floor in connection with the documents in the agenda of the plenary meeting.

The participants in the debates referred to the achievements scored in fulfilling the plan of vegetal and animal farm production, pointed to the shortcomings registered in a series of sectors, to the causes that led to shortfalls in fulfilling the tasks set, highlighting at the same time the activity carried on in farm units for the appropriate preparation of the forthcoming agricultural campaign.

Likewise, the speakers stressed the measures set for the implementation of the programme of self-management and self-sufficiency by territorial units, for the population's supply with farmfood products, as well as the measures meant to steadily improve the economic and financial activity of the producer cooperative farms, to raise the economic efficiency of each unit.

The participants in the debates spoke about the great peasant uprising 75 years ago, momentous event in the history of the social struggles in Romania, about the anniversary of 20 years since the conclusion of the cooperativization of agriculture which generalized the socialist relations of production in the entire economy and sanctioned the victory of socialism in all sectors of activity.

The plenary meeting approved the resolution of the National Council of Agriculture, Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management regarding the adoption of the documents debated and the pledge of the working people in agriculture to make their utmost to implement the programmes of raising vegetal and animal production set in view of steadily improving supply of the population with farmfood products and of industry with raw materials.

President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech during the plenary meeting.

SCINTEIA REPORTS FOREIGN MINISTER'S SWISS VISIT

AU010934 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Feb 82 p 6

[Text] President of the Swiss Confederation Fritz Honegger on 23 February received Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania, who paid an official visit to Berne at the invitation of Pierre Aubert, vice president of the Swiss Confederation and minister of foreign affairs.

A friendly message was extended to Fritz Honegger on behalf of President Nicolae Ceausescu. Expressing thanks for the message, the president of the Swiss Confederation asked the Romanian guest to convey cordial greetings and best wishes to President Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the talks, the two sides stressed with satisfaction the friendly relations between Romania and Switzerland and cooperation between the two countries and peoples at various levels, as well as their constant upward evolution. They also expressed their mutual desire to develop Romanian-Swiss relations at various levels.

During the talks, they also exchange views on certain current international issues. During the disscussions Comrade Stefan Andrei conducted with Pierre Aubert the latter recalled with pleasure his being received by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, during his visit to our country in 1980, as well as the talks conducted on that occasion during which guidelines for expanding Romanian-Swiss cooperation were set forth.

The two foreign ministers agreed upon a number of measures aimed at giving an impetus to relations between Romania and Switzerland, especially regarding trade exchange and economic cooperation.

At the same time, the two ministers exchanged views on current major problems in the world. They expressed the concern of the Romanian and Swiss Governments for the seriousness and unprecedented gravity of the international situation, the continuation of the arms race, the perpetuation and emergence of new conflicts in various parts of the world, the deepened world economic crisis, the particularly dangerous acceleration of the arms race and the promotion of the policy of force and domination.

The foreign ministers stressed the need to take joint action with great responsibility to stop the aggravation of the international situation and to resume the policy of detente and cooperation based on respect for equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and nonrecourse to the use or threat of force to resolve all disputes and conflicts by peaceful means and negotiations. They stressed the role of small and medium-sized countries and of neutral and nonaligned countries in solving the major problems confronting mankind today.

Special attention was paid to examining the situation in Europe. The two foreign ministers stressed the importance of concluding the Madrid meeting with positive results so that it will give a new impetus to the uniform implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and so that it will bring about the convening of a conference devoted to strengthening trust and disarmament on the continent and continuing the process of achieving security and cooperation in Europe, including future all-European meetings.

The two foreign ministers noted that a vital problem for European peoples is that of stopping the arms race and proceeding to disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and of renouncing the deployment of new medium-range nuclear missiles and withdrawing existing ones, as well as freeing the European Continent from any kind of nuclear weapons.

They stressed the pressing need to immediately begin tangible negotiations for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, that will bring about effective measures for stopping the arms race, reducing military budgets and all weaponry and armed forces.

Discussing world economic issues, the two ministers stressed the need to act to eliminate the process of underdevelopment in the world -- a factor causing imbalances in relations between countries -- and the need to establish a new economic order in the world.

They stressed with satisfaction the positive cooperation between the two countries within various international bodies and expressed their joint desire to continue to develop cooperation within world bodies and conferences and within the meetings devoted to peace and security in Europe.

The Romanian foreign minister extended an invitation to the Swiss foreign minister to pay an official visit to Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

SOVIET ARMY, NAVY DAY MARKED IN BUCHAREST

Embassy Reception

AU261802 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Feb 82 p 3

[Text] On the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy, V.I. Drozdenko, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest, gave a reception on 22 February in the afternoon.

The reception was attended by Col Gen Vasile Milea, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff, Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Col Gen Marin Nicolescu, deputy minister of national defense; generals and high-ranking officers; and other officials. Chiefs of diplomatic missions accredited in Bucharest, military, air and naval attaches and other diplomatic corps members were also present.

A wreath-laying ceremony took place at the Soviet Heroes Monument in Bucharest on 22 February in the afternoon. Wreaths were laid on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense and the Bucharest Municipal People's Council on the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. A wreath was also laid on behalf of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest. The ceremony was attended by Col Gen Marin Nicolescu, deputy minister of national defense; Dumitru Necsoiu, vice chairman of the Bucharest Municipal People's Council; generals and officers; and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

V.I. Drozdenko, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest; Chief Commander D.M. Terentiev, USSR's military, air and naval attache in our country; and embassy members were also present.

Olteanu Cables Ustinov

AU261756 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Feb 82 p 3

[Text] Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, has sent a congratulatory cable to Marshal of the Soviet Union D.F. Ustinov, minister of defense of the USSR, on the 64th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy.

OLTEANU GREETS GDR'S HOFFMANN ON ARMY DAY

AU010946 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Feb 82 p 5

[Text] On the 26th anniversary of the creation of the GDR National People's Army, Lt Gen Constantin Olteanu, minister of national defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent a congratulatory cable to Army General Heinz Hoffmann, GDR minister of national defense.

On the same occasion, the GDR military, air and naval attache in Bucharest, Col Joachim Schroeter, met with one of our military units. Siegfried Bock, GDR ambassador in our country, was also present.

The participants visited a photo exhibition depicting aspects of the life and activity of the GDR National People's Army and watched a documentary movie supplied by the embassy.

PARLIAMENTARIANS END FRIENDSHIP VISIT TO USSR

Visit Georgian SSR

AU251952 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 25 Feb (AGERPRES) -- A Romanian parliamentary delegation, led by Nicolae Giosan, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, now on an official visit of friendship to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR visited the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The delegation had an interview in Tbilisi with Paven Gilashvili, Presidium president of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR, with other members of that republic's party and state leadership, with deputies.

Likewise, the delegation saw round the metallurgical works in the town of Rustavi where a meeting of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Society took place.

The agronomic institute in Tbilisi and the experiment production base were visited next.

Concludes Moscow Talks

AU262020 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 26 Feb (AGERPRES) -- The talks between the Romanian parliamentary delegation, led by Nicolae Giosan, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and the delegation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, led by A.P. Shitikov, chairman of the Soviet of the Union, and V.P. Ruben, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, concluded in Moscow on February 26.

The ascending course was highlighted on the occasion of the good manysided relations existing between Romania and the Soviet Union, the special importance being emphasized in that context of the meetings and talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, and Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, general secretary of the CC of the CPSU, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The two sides expressed the wish that the two supreme legislative fora should make their constructive and active contribution, in the future too, to the development and deepening of the Romanian-Soviet collaboration and friendship.

Likewise, the need was emphasized to further the active cooperation of the two parliaments on the international plane to the end of powerfully asserting collaboration and detente in Europe and throughout the world.

The same day, A.P. Shitikow and V.P. Ruben gave a lunch in honour of the Romanian parliamentary delegation.

Visits Kalinin, Returns

AU281818 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1650 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Text] Moscow, 28 Feb (AGERPRES) -- At the conclusion of the official visit of friendship paid to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the delegation of the Grand National Assembly, headed by Nicolae Giosan, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, were guests of the Kalinin Oblast.

There the Romanian delegation had interviews with P.A. Leonov, first secretary of the Kalinin regional party committee, and A.I. Iliyenkov, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Regional Soviet of the People's Deputies.

The excavator plant of Kalinin town was visited.

On Sunday, February 28, the GNA delegation returned to the homeland.

SERBIAN LC CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION HELD 26 FEB

LD261824 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- The activity of the Serbian League of Communists in past years has been directed mainly toward society's economic problems. Somehow all the League of Communists' work in the period between the two congresses bears the stamp of strong concern for society's economic stability. The congress will give an assessment of synthesis of everything that has been done in this sphere in the 4 years. The draft political report provides the basis for such an assessment.

This was stressed by Spiro Galovic, secretary of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory report at today's Central Committee session. The agenda contains the draft political report on the Central Committee's work and the basic characteristics of Serbian League of Communists activity in the period between the Eighth and Ninth Serbian League of Communists Congresses.

We have still not overcome many problems, just as we have not noticed all the mistakes we are making. It is true that in some important spheres we have succeeded in stopping negative trends and are carrying out a change in tendencies. The balance of payments deficit has been reduced, the rise in all forms of of consumption has been stopped and some forms of consumption have been meaningfully reduced. These are encouraging results which will, however, gain their full value if they are confirmed as an expression of a consistent and lasting orientation.

Economic stabilization, Galovic continued, has been the main preoccupation of League of Communists organizations and organs, not in the formal sense, but in the real sense. In this sphere the basic contradictions of our social development have been expressed. Many difficulties with which we have been confronted were, to a certain extent, (?unexpected) and this is not a favorable sign for our current economic and political assessments and plan forecasts nor for our social organization. There is much for which we were not really prepared, so that we found the answers to some problems with greater or lesser amount of delay.

The general assessment, Galovic went on, is that in the past there has been a strengthening of the role of the (?state) in regulating economic and business life. The conviction that the state's administrative involvement in economic trends produces negative results has long been one of the key standpoints of the League of Communists, but nevertheless this involvement is again being strengthened. If we want to reply to the question about what is holding up the continued development of self-management we cannot ignore the practice of pronounced state influence on economic relations extending beyond these limits set by our system. Nor can we ignore the domination of politics over the economy, which is linked with this. Tendencies of this kind are being renewed instead of being squeezed out, and this is the cause of the focus of social power not moving further in favor of the working class and self-management.

Speaking about topical problems of the supply of raw materials and reproduction material, Galovic said that many difficulties of this kind were inevitable both within the republic and throughout the country. But this is not the whole truth. shortages are a regular phenomenon in administratively directed economies. State regulation of the economy results in constant shortages. And so, according to Galovic, we should not lose sight of the long-term aspect of the solutions which are being proposed and adopted. In the longer term problems can be solved only if we renew the value of some, to a certain extent, forgotten ideas from which we proceeded in developing self-management and if we return to the interest of the producer as the basic lever of material and social progress.

Galovic went on to stress that self-management linking of labor and resources and economic pressure remain equally important factors of our economic and social development. The role of state organs should be manifested increasingly in stimulating self-management pooling of labor and such measures to promote the struggle for more productive work and more rational economic development. Otherwise, state interventions will smooth the way for the bureaucratization of society and the renewal of conservative tendencies in social and political life, as well as for conflict on a nationalist basis and the division of the working class. The issue in dispute here is not then only state interference but the source from which this interference comes and the consequences of any intervention on such a basis in social relations.

Galovic devoted a separate part of his report to the development of the political system. Speaking about two series of tasks -- one in the sphere of economic stabilization and the other in the sphere of the political system -- Galovic said that they have been resolved to a certain extent on separate [word indistinct].

In practice we have not completely understood the full meaning of the (?provision) of the League of Communists as the internal strength of our system. Because of this the League of Communists often appears as an external factor of the system, not involved in the everyday activity of institutions. Thus it cannot overcome its role as arbiter in social conflicts after they occur. Many League of Communists members view the work of the Socialist Alliance or the activity of individual institutions of the delegate system as something which is outside their responsibility.

Within these ideological boundaries everything is reduced to discussions having social importance and meaning if they are carried out within the League of Communists. Maybe precisely because of this, progress in the development of our political system is marked by discord between the increasingly freer expression of interests and views and the evident weaknesses in coordinating them.

From the viewpoint of the further development of socialist self-management democracy the basic question is whether the Socialist Alliance can fully promote the real interests of the working masses and citizens in public affairs, and whether policy and creativity in the widest sense can be linked more closely here. Without democratic debate in the socialist alliance those tendencies which (?drag) us backward -- whether to the restoration of the bureaucratic monopoly or to bourgeois democracy -- reappear constantly in social life. Bouregois liberalism and dogmatism as ideological expressions of these tendencies go hand in hand, after all, and it is not difficult to see this in our everyday life, in the press and in publishing activity. Nationalism is equally characteristic of both tendencies and precisely this unites them in a certain sense.

The League of Communists, Galovic concluded, can respond to the demands of the time and win the trust of the working masses only by brave confrontation with the problems of society and by means of a critical analysis of its own weaknesses, together with real readiness to take responsibility.

It was emphasized that the period between the eighth and ninth congresses represented one of the most complex periods in our postwar construction and development of our self-managing society. However, in spite of this, difficulties in the development of self-managing relations should be mentioned not only casually but in much greater detail. The reasons for these phenomena should also be more deeply analyzed. They must be identified in order to direct the organized action of the League of Communists toward eliminating them more quickly.

The Central Committee of the Serbian League of Communists then adopted the draft political report on the work of the Central Committee and on the basic characteristics of the activity of the League of Communists between the eighth and ninth congresses, including the observations and suggestions put forward at today's meeting.

Intense election activities are underway in the League of Communists of Serbia. With the exception of a small number of basic organizations in the Kosovo League of Communists, elections in the basic organizations have been completed. Electoral conferences are now being held in the municipal organizations. All municipal electoral conferences in Vojvodina have been completed. This was emphasized by Budimir Vukasinovic, member of the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, in connection with his report on current election activities in the League of Communists of Serbia which was on the agenda of today's Central Committee session. Vukasinovic emphasized that all election activity was marked by precongress preparations. It is generally felt that omissions and shortcomings were very openly discussed at the preelection and election meetings in most basic organizations. Criticism expressed at these meetings mobilized the membership and organizations of the League of Communists for greater involvement in solving topical questions of socio-economic and political development.

According to Vukasinovic, the most important questions that were raised referred to economic stabilization and to the functioning of the delegate system, as well as to the all-people's defense and social self-protection. Vukasinovic devoted part of his report to the electoral municipal conferences currently underway. He emphasized the fact that three-quarters of the members of the proposed new municipal committees are newcomers, that 38 percent of the proposed committee members are workers from direct production and 15 percent agricultural producers. About 37 percent of the members of the proposed new presidiums of the municipal committees are workers from direct production and 13.5 percent are agricultural producers.

After Budimir Vukasinovic's report, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia adopted the report on current election activity in the basic and municipal organizations. In conclusion, the Central Committee unanimously adopted the proposal by the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium that Dusan Ckrebic be the candidate for the first president of the Central Committee after the ninth congress.

KOSOVO LC PRESIDIUM ON SITUATION AT UNIVERSITY

LD271808 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1037 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Pristina, 27 Feb (TANJUG) -- At a session last night chaired by Veli Deva, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium assessed the influence of the ideopolitical activity of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces on the stabilization of the political situation at Kosovo University. After a critical analysis of the ideopolitical activity and situation at the university, the Presidium pointed out that it is the duty of the organization and organs of the League of Communists, the Federation of Socialist Youth and trade unions and the organs of self-management at this university to involve themselves more resolutely and consistently in their own environments in the concrete implementation of the political platform of the LCY Central Committee, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee's action program and the conclusions of the Kosovo Presidency and Provincial Committee Presidium.

The Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium expressed the view that the activity of the League of Communists at the university is still impeded by the opportunism and passive attitude of a number of members of the League of Communists and that this is slowing down the struggle for further consistent differentiation and undermined the work done so far by the League of Communists, of her sociopolitical organizations and self-managing and other organs. Particular stress is reported to have been placed at last night's session of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium on the need to speed up and intensify political differentiation at all the faculties on the basis of the concrete ideopolitical involvement of lecturers and students and to adopt very specific measures and actions aimed at stabilizing the political state of affairs at Kosovo University.

VOJVODINA LC PRESIDIUM ON CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

LD271614 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Novi Sad, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- In the preparation for the 17th Conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina and the documents which this highest gathering of the Vojvodina communists will adopt, the Presidium of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee will urge that these documents elaborate as fully as possible the obligations of the communists in building socialist togetherness in the SFRY, in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia. This will be done on the basis of the LCY policy, socialist self-managing relations, equality of nations and nationalities, strengthening of the position of the working class and the working people in society and consistent implementation of the Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor.

This is stated, among other things, in the operational program of the Provincial Committee Presidium concerning the activities in the implementation of the conclusions of the 25th meeting of the Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee and the 19th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia which was considered at today's meeting of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Vojvodina. The questions of implementation of the constitutional position of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the federation will be more extensively considered at the initiative of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Vojvodina in the Socialist Alliance and in the delegations and delegate bodies, while a special debate will be held in the Vojvodina Assembly. Until the 17th Conference of the Vojvodina League of Communists and party congresses, the Presidium will direct and encourage the engagement of members of the organs of the Vojvodina League of Communists and communists in the trade unions, chambers of trade and executive organs of the sociopolitical communities and especially the delegates [words indistinct] in the Assembly bodies for the purpose of achieving success in the adoption of social agreements on the development of activities of common interest in the republic. During the work on the adoption of social agreements in agroindustry, power engineering, energy, water economy, transport and metal industry, and especially agreements policy measures of common interest in connection with the faster development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the communists will seek that the interest of associated labor be expressed as fully as possible.

The operational program of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the Vojvodina League of Communists outlines the tasks and obligations in connection with the adoption of the republic's social plan and the law on all-people's defense, as well as the social agreement on the implementation of the cadre policy in the republic.

The Presidium emphasizes the obligation of communists in the organs of the federation from the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and of communists in the organs of the province that as far as the questions of essential orientation and methods of work in these organs are concerned they must consistently advocate the implementation of the Constitution and congress decisions. It is envisaged to hold several discussions on the development of agroindustry and energy. Action will be especially intensified in the basic organizations of the League of Communists to strengthen the position of the basic organizations of associated labor and their inclusion in all trends of social reproduction, as well as to associate work and resources for faster elimination of sales relations and a more successful struggle against partial interests and local isolation.

The Vojvodina League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium will undertake discussions, political consultations and agreements with the purpose of promoting the organization and method of work and the manner of decisionmaking in the Serbian Assembly and of overcoming the situation which was the subject of constant criticism. All important questions of statutory changes in the statutes of the League of Communists of Serbia and the League of Communists of Vojvodina will also be comprehensively studied, while the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina League of Communists Political Studies and Marxist Education Center, together with the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee, will organize a discussion on the development and implementation of principles of democatic centralism.

Activity will also be continued as regards cooperation in the field of education, culture and science, while working bodies and executive secretaries who deal with the questions of information should undertake joint actions as regards the ideopolitical orientation of public media in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the Socialist Republic of Serbia to strengthen togetherness, equality, brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities, self-managing relations and the position of the working class and working people in society. At the same time, this involves struggle against local isolation, centralistic tendencies, national and privatization. Importance is also given to the solution of outstanding questions concerning cooperation in the field of radio and television.

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA LC HOLDS PLENUM 26 FEB

Drasko Popovic Report

LD271400 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1324 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Sarajevo, 27 Feb (TANJUG) -- As a result of League of Communist activity and the efforts of working people and citizens and all organized socialist forces, clear results are being achieved in socioeconomic development in the republic and in the struggle for the development and strengthening of socialist self-management. This assessment was made in the introductory report by Drasko Popovic, member of the Presidium at today's session of the Bosnia Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee session, at which some current ideopolitical questions were discussed. The League of Communist's critical attitude to its own practice has made a significant contribution to arriving at more realistic ideas about the problems, difficulties and weaknesses which arise in our society's development and in the development and promotion of socialist self-management relations. It was also addressed the consequences of some antisocialist and anti-self-managing attitudes and practices.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists is oriented ideopolitically toward the realization of the basic contents of socialist self-management development and at the same time toward perceiving, exposing and preventing all phenomena and tendencies which are opposed to the policy of the League of Communists, in particular in relation to the activity of individuals and groups aimed against socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity, the equality and community of the nations and nationalities, an independent and nonaligned foreign policy and other gains, Drasko Popovic said. We have noted, however, that in the everyday ideopolitical struggle there has not always been sufficient resolve and militancy by the League of Communists in all environments, as well as unified assessments of problems and difficulties and approaches to individual phenomena and, in this connection, often there has not been even a unified (?attitude) to the more comprehensive exposing of negative phenomena and tendencies and settling of scores with the exponents of those tendencies which are aimed at undermining and destroying the basic gains of our society. In some places there was not sufficient ideological and political sensitivity in recognizing them either.

Recently, Drasko Popovic went on, we have been confronted in Bosnia-Hercegovina and in Yugoslavia as a whole with a more pronounced manifestation of tendencies which lead to opening up or trying to open up nearly all essential issues of the development of a socialist self-management society about which standpoints have been adopted in the Constitution, in LCY congress decisions, the Law on Associated Labor and other systemic laws and decisions that have been adopted which form the basis of socialist self-management development. When open enemies of the socialist self-management society raise this, it is clear what positions and aims we are dealing with. However, when such efforts come from League of Communists members in various forms, there is no doubt that this has a specific focus and that the recognition of these tendencies objectively is more complex and even more significant for ideopolitical action by the League of Communists as a whole and differentiation within its ranks, as well as for strengthening its level of organization. All this, in a certain way, is used in attempts to denigrate the values of the socialist self-management system which we are building and the possibilities which it offers in solving numerous contradictions which arise in our dynamic development.

The assessment that the opponents of socialist self-management of all kinds would be more on the offensive, more impudent and more open in their activity after Comrade Tito's death has been confirmed. We are discussing precisely these tendencies today, for apart from our responsibility for the situation and for relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina, as an integral and inseparable part of the LCY we are also responsible for the situation and for relations in the whole of the country, as well as for the generality of League of Communists action and the maintenance of all the gains of our struggle and the socialist revolution.

The fact that the [word indistinct] tendencies are aimed against the basic values of the socialist self-management system and at raising the demand for a revision of this system more often and more openly, demonstrates clearly that these are joint issues of significance for the activity of the LCY, and for that of the communists of all the republics and provinces and their leaderships.

Recently, there have been attempts by individuals at bringing into question the prestige and work of Comrade Tito, attacking Kardelj and opening up issues of the federative system and in this context the position and role of the republics and provinces. The situation [words indistinct] in individual environments is sometimes assessed in an unjustifiable way, tendentiously and even maliciously, and a number of the most responsible cadres both in Yugoslavia and in Bosnia-Hercegovina are exposed to attacks and slanders which require a more responsible attitude by the League of Communists in relation to these tendencies and their exponents.

Insufficient effective activity by the League of Communists in relation to these tendencies is also a consequence of certain differences in ideopolitical assessments on some issues of the situation and relations in Yugoslavia and, in particular, in the approach to their resolution and the concrete struggle of the League of Communists. Drasko Popovic said that, particularly now in the preparations for the congress, we need to consider all phenomena and with a united attitude toward them make a full contribution to the struggle and further revolution action of the League of Communists as a whole. Otherwise it can realistically be expected that all forms of hostile activity will gain broader dimensions and strengthen anti-self-management and antisocialist tendencies aimed at undermining the socialist self-management system. These facts give warning and, without any dramatization, give serious concern to all who are on the lines of Tito's policy of developing a socialist self-management society.

It often happens that socialist self-management and the League of Communists policy are accused of all the problems in the development of society.

However, experiences in developing and carrying out League of Communists policy demonstrate that the problems and weaknesses arise, first and foremost, as a result of the inconsistent realization of established policy as well as because of some objective difficulties which arise when we need to overcome, in a short time, numerous contradictions which accompany our very dynamic socialist self-management development, which frequently suits various kinds of resistance and open activity by individuals and groups against socialist self-management.

It is a fact that individual problems are surmounted too slowly both because of the inadequate level of organization of the League of Communists and the institutions of the system and their inability to provide timely replies to questions posed by the development of society and because of the different views on how they should be surmounted. It is indispensable to grasp the meaning of the trends which are characteristic of the present juncture and see whether shortcomings and mistakes should be eliminated and socialist self-management should continue to grow stronger and develop or whether their goal is a completely different one and offers, in practice, an alternative to socialist self-management.

However, the trends under discussion are not objectively aimed at eliminating these shortcomings, but are used as the basis for criticism levelled against the League of Communists and socialist self-management. This kind of criticism does not offer a way out of difficulties and open the prospect for the further development of socialist self-management. On the contrary, it is aimed at undermining the socialist self-managing system and is not infrequently levelled against the most prominent fighters for the development of this system.

In view of Comrade Tito's enormous prestige in the working class and the people the attempts to denigrate him as a person and his work are clearly intended to influence the masses and alienate them from Tito's achievement, which means also from the League of Communists and its policy and from the struggle for the continuity of the socialist revolution. The fact that the reaction to these attacks is not always timely and adequate may give rise to doubts about the value of the most prominent personalities of our revolution and their contribution, which of course is the aim of those who make these attacks. In essence, that amounts to calling in question in a broad manner the value of the socialist revolution and of all the achievements which we gained together with Tito. Other prominent cadres of the revolution are also under attack along the same lines and with the same aim.

Recently, a large proportion of these attacks have been aimed against our political and, especially, economic system. All the objective difficulties and subjective shortcomings which accompany the development of the socialist self-managing system and which are often discussed in the League of Communists are exploited as arguments in attempts to prove that this system has allegedly not proved itself in practice.

Owing to this one must look for the reply to the question as to the ultimate aim of these trends, which really amount to demands for the revision of the system. If one denies the basic organization of associated labor as the fundamental form of organization of the working people, and if one sees it as the basic cause of the shortcomings in realizing the policy of socioeconomic development instead of attributing these shortcomings to the inconsistent realization of the constitutional position of the basic organization both in associated labor and in society, it is clear that one wishes to propose some other model of social relations. It is well known what this means and who seeks such changes in our society.

In the context of negative trends there is a need to analyze in detail the activity of the public information media as an inseparable part of the system of socialist self-management. If we ask whether public information media are involved in an appropriate manner in the strategic processes of the struggle of the League of Communists for the further consolidation of socialist self-management, the reply will on the whole be positive.

However, at the same time, it is not inappropriate to ask why room is made in a part of the press and other public information media for those views which cast doubt on the fundamental aspects of socialist self-management. Important discussions on this them were held at the joint session of the League of Communists Central Committee Presidium and at the session of the SAWPY Federal Conference. The appropriate appraisals were made of the negative trends which are characteristic of some information media, which is naturally useful, but which also points to the need for constant and organized activity and lasting ideopolitical action of all the organized socialist forces in this sphere.

A more careful analysis reveals the essence of these trends and their real background and motives. It is a fact that certain phenomena in an environment are reported exclusively or predominantly in a sensationalist manner, that arbitrary and inaccurate assertions are made on individual issues, as is shown from numerous examples, that there is no evidence, to put it mildly, of good will and that no effort is made to overcome problems and subjective shortcomings. If this becomes recurrent practice which increasingly leads to ideological and political consequences it becomes much clearer what it is all about and shows how deep-rooted this attitude is in some of the information media and how necessary it is to keep a constant eye on the realization of the role of information and propaganda media in our socialist self-managing system.

Drasko Popovic, member of the Presidium, went on to say in his report at today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists Central Committee that the complexity of the socioeconomic and political situation in the country, intensified trends and the public expression of views which run counter to the policy of the League of Communists have given great encouragement, above all, to the hostile forces as well as to all the other forces opposed to socialist self-management. The preparations for the League of Communists congresses not only provide the opportunity but also impose the obligation and responsibility on the League of Communists and in particular on its leaderships to furnish replies, in keeping with the revolutionary practice, to numerous unresolved questions raised by practice. The working people and citizens have a right to expect this from the League of Communists.

It is a fact that numerous questions have a broader social significance and that solutions have to be sought through joint action of the entire League of Communists of Yugoslavia. This presupposes the need for discussions on these questions in the appropriate organs and at the time it also means that we should adopt an even more responsible attitude to shortcomings and problems in our own environment and to resolute differentiation in the ranks of the League of Communists as well and that we should struggle for the continuity of the revolution.

Plenum Discussions

LD271518 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1425 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- During the extensive and well substantiated discussions held at today's session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina about some ideopolitical questions of the present social situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia, full agreement was expressed with the stances contained in the introductory report, especially with the assessment referring to increased and ever-more-publicly-expressed tendencies which objectively oppose the values of the revolution and the system of socialist self-management and thus also the authentic interests of the working people and citizens throughout the country. Giving examples which confirm such assessments, ranging from those in the public information media and journalism to those in the cultural and the publishing field, most speakers devoted their attention to the economic difficulties which are facing us.

The present economic situation, despite certain signs of improvement, was assessed as very serious and that it negatively affects the entire political situation. It was especially pointed out that the shortage of reproduction material and difficulties in the supply of energy are causing interruptions in production, which in some collectives causes shift (?problems), the closing down of certain capacities and, in some places, also required stops. At the same time, it was noted, we are faced with the shortage of certain consumer goods, which was not the case in the past 20 years and which is creating lines, races for articles in short supply, and hoarding. All this, it was emphasized, is causing concern among the working people and citizens and bringing out often justified reactions.

In spite of this situation, which is also negatively affected by the high rate of inflation, foreign debts and the balance of payments deficit, the speakers expressed the conviction that we have the economic as well as political strength to overcome this situation and to embark on the road of more stable economic development in the near future. This optimistic view is based, it was said, on the fact that, for example, 800,000 new workers have been employed in the country since the 11th LCY Congress and that the balance of payments deficit of over $3 billion in 1979 was reduced to $700 million last year, while this year it is planned to reduce it to $500 million.

Analyzing the reasons for the growing tendencies opposed to the socialist self-management, the view was expressed in the discussion that such behavior by the already declared enemies should neither cause concern nor surprise because the League of Communists has no illusions in this respect. This practically confirmed the earlier assessment that after Comrade Tito's death they would more openly raise their heads and become more aggressive and ruthless, thinking of course that this was their moment. In view of their strength and influence, this should not cause undue concern. Greater concern, it was said, is caused by the fact that the protagonists of such tendencies, or those who follow them or accept them in silence, also include members of the League of Communists, even those in political and managerial positions. Seeking reasons for such behavior on their part, it was stated that the League of Communists also includes some people with different ideological convictions and some who are ideologically ignorant, petit-bourgeois, or, by some of their statements, show shades of nationalism. It is therefore necessary, it was emphasized, to carry out political differentiation concerning all these questions within the League of Communists. However, to do this, unity and greater agreement should be achieved as regards the great ideological questions of our self-managing socialist development.

Several speakers in the discussion then spoke about the problems expressed in our information media. Supporting the assessments expressed in the introductory report, it was emphasized that by this essential discussion the public information media are not being put "in the dock" and that its aim is to point those great mistakes which may have greater consequences for our further development and for the continuity of revolution. The view was expressed that some texts in the mass communication media are far from the truth and that they even carry slanders, intrigues and attempts to discredit certain personalities and even our greater revolutionaries. Such journalism, it was pointed out, is far from true and objective information and also from the stances of the LCY.

It was then said in the discussion that there was some (?rash) reaction from this environment in the information media to what had been coming from other environments, certain adulterations and attempts by individuals in science and culture to show that their stances are apparently supported by the entire structure of the republic. It was pointed out that mass information media in Bosnia-Hercegovina deliberately present certain problems inadequately, which causes justified criticism. These phenomena are due to a lack of journalistic creativeness and to a lack of team and collective work in the editorial offices. In the view of many, the fault for these problems in the information media should be sought in the journalist cadres, especially those of better quality who are leaving the press and finding themselves in some editorial position.

On the other hand, new cadres who are coming in or the existing young cadres, in their wish to affirm themselves, seize upon the slogan of "journalistic courage" which is frequently identified with sensationalist and one-sided presentation of phenomena and problems. There are also those, it was said, who in their fear of not making a mistake indulge in apologies without making an effort essentially to approach the core of the problem.

All participants in the discussion assessed that in the forthcoming period it is necessary to engage communists and the Socialist Alliance more in order to overcome the existing problems as soon as possible.

Numerous examples were given about ordinary citizens who themselves react to certain phenomena which they do not consider to be in keeping with the basic aims of our development. One of them is from Brcko where the inhabitants of some villages, after the known attempts of a census and "counting" on a religious basis, of their own initiative came to the Socialist Alliance and handed in membership books distributed by these "census takers" in the desire to point out that such activity on the part of religious communities is unacceptable. It is significant that as a rule these people belong to the religious community which issued the "membership book".

Supporting the assessment about increased antisocialist and anti-self-managing activity, from irredentism in Kosovo to nationalist, anarcholiberal and dogmatic activity, several speakers said that this is not at all accidental, especially when it is put in the context of international relations and linked with the activity of hostile emigres. The aim of this joint action by the internal and external enemies is to weaken the prestige of Yugoslavia in the eyes of the international public and thus to facilitate bringing on the scene the forces of counterrevolution. In this light it is also necessary to see and assess certain writings and statements which directly attack the basic values of the revolution and our socialist development. The target of these attacks is most frequently the greatest achievements of the revolution, brotherhood and unity, togetherness, our federal system and, in the final analysis, the integrity of the country.

Special attention in the discussion was also justly paid to activity among youth. Emphasis was placed on experiences from the Kosovo events, which has shown that irredentist indoctrination of the Albanian youth, or rather part of it, was indeed possible because political work with youth, especially ideological work, was neglected. Of course, this is not the only experience of this kind. We can also find it in the frequently politicized influence of the clergy on the young people which is reflected in their not so small attendance at various church events, the appearance of Our Lady, for instance, which frequently exceeds the legally permitted framework of activity by the religious communities. It is therefore necessary, it was emphasized, for the greatest possible attention to be paid to the ideological education of youth, especially young members of the League of Communists who are very numerous. This must represent a long-term task of the League of Communists and not a short-term one because of the present political situation.

The speakers in the afternoon debate so far included Ljiljana Terzic, Mujo Mesic, Mihajlo Djonovic, Nijaz Dizdarevic and Hamdija Pozderac. The session continues.

Congress Set for 18-20 May

AU271606 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] The Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina will be held in Sarajevo from 18-20 May. This was decided at a session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of that republic. The session also said that the congress would work in a plenum and in five commissions.

MORE ON LCY STATUTORY COMMISSION PROPOSALS

LD271136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- After a 2-day working session which lasted more than 20 hours, members of the LCY's Statutory Commission have decided on changes in the LCY Statute. The draft will be submitted to the LCY Central Committee for consideration and the sent to all organizations of the League of Communists, so that the LCY membership will be able by means of public debate to submit new suggestions and proposals for improving this basic party document.

The essence of the present statute remains the same, but much work was necessary to define some of its provisions more clearly. This concerns above all the articles dealing with implementing the principles of democratic centralism, strengthening the place and role of basic and municipal organizations of the League of Communists, providing a greater role for the LCY Central Committee, and so on. Of course, most of the discussion was devoted to collective work, responsibility and decisionmaking, considering that the League of Communists already has experience in implementing this idea of Comrade Tito which, however, has not yet been regulated by the statute.

The present discussions could not neglect the rights and obligations of members of the League of Communists. More insistence is placed on greater activity and participation in adopting decisions and in implementing adopted stances. It is proposed that the new statute should give members of the League of Communists the right to abstain from voting, providing they give their reasons. The basic organization will be able to assess whether they are justified.

LJUBICIC ADDRESSES TITOVO UZICE LC MEETING

LD270522 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1845 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- The electoral conference of the municipal organization of the League of Communists of Titovo Uzice has reported that good results have been achieved in the past 4 years in the economy and social sectors of this municipality but that they could have been better had the communists been more capable of action, had they worked more responsibly at their posts and had they been more aware socially. Since the last congress, some 2,000 new members have been admitted in Titovo Uzice municipality, so that there now are 9,200 communists associated with 264 organizations.

The session was attended by Nikola Ljubicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and federal secretary for national defense, and Mirko Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and federal secretary for national defense, and Mirko Popovic, member of the LCY Central Committee.

Nikola Ljubicic said the results of activities were good but could have been better. We must examine the working methods of the basic organizations and forums in order to achieve a better performance. The communists must give up pettiness, eliminate the influence of market gossip and work unitedly from the basic organizations of the municipal committee, the republic and the federation. United activity by all communists is a prerequisite for implementing all tasks.

The communists must struggle to open up prospects for all, and especially for the young, who are yet to be employed. To achieve this, we must pay great attention to what it means to be a communist, to pure moral qualities and to loyalty and readiness to implement the next stages of our development. This responsibility is even greater in the case of leading cadres. Communist morality must be especially guarded in view of its role in the revolution and in further tasks of national construction as well as in fostering revolutionary traditions.

As regards the development of agriculture, it has been dealt with only superficially, Ljubicic emphasized. Care should be taken that the countryside does not become depopulated. Industry and other branches should also invest in agriculture, because cooperatives alone are not in a position to do so. The production of food for ever increasing numbers of people working in industry and other fields is becoming increasingly necessary. Apart from developing industry, and especially small enterprises, the development of tourism would also benefit this area.

Radivoje Karaicic was elected president of the municipal committee and Aleksandar Dogandzic, Presidium secretary.

MORE REGIONS APPROVE MEAT, OTHER PRICE RISES

Serbian Meat Prices

AU271700 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 82 p 5

[TANJUG report]

[Summary] Yesterday, the Serbian Executive Council adopted a decision on increasing the price of meat on an average by 16 percent, and of meat products by 15 percent. The price of broilers increased from 44 to 51 dinars per kilogram.

According to estimates, the increase in the price of broilers will result in an increase of retail prices of about 0.12 percent and of the cost of living of 0.24 percent. The increase in the price of meat will increase the retail prices by about 0.6 percent and the cost of living by about 1.3 percent. "The new prices will only apply if the organization of associated labor conclude self-managing agreements on the distribution of the joint income created in this way. If such agreements are not concluded the price of fresh meat will be reduced 7 percent. It is expected that the new prices will come into effect 1 March this year."

Montenegro Increases

AU271612 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 82 p 5

[Summary] Titograd, 24 Feb (TANJUG) -- As of tomorrow, the price of fresh meat in Montenegro will increase 16 percent and of meat products 15 percent on average. This decision was adopted at today's session of the Council of the Republican Community for Prices.

The council also adopted decisions on increasing railroad passenger transportation fares by 15 percent and in intercity road transportation by 10 percent. These decisions will come into effect 1 March. The approval was also given for an increase in the price of rubber goods by 5 percent and of concrete products by 15 percent. The prices of textiles will increase 12.5 percent and footwear 9 percent.

Kosovo Price Hikes

AU271534 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Summary from poor reception] The delegates of the Provincial Price Commission examined and approved of today's meeting requests presented by four associated labor organizations to raise their prices. Owing to the difficulties they are confronted with, these organizations have come to the conclusion that price rises are the only way to meet these difficulties. The commission thus decided that the price of meat and some by-products will be raised 16 percent over and above last year's price level. In addition, the commission also endorsed price rises of 15 percent for railroad transportation and 12 percent for road transportation, beginning 5 March. As of 1 March 1982, the price of electricity will also be hiked 20 percent and the price of coal 30 percent.

PROPOSALS TO DENUCLEARIZE BALKANS VIEWED

LD010442 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Milika Sundic commentary]

[Text] The idea of denuclearizing the Balkans is quite an old one, but so far it has never been discussed properly -- nor have the nuclear-free zones in central Europe or the Mediterranean. Some Balkan governments, whenever they have advocated the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in the area, have in fact always placed this idea within the context of bloc policy and interbloc relations and have ignored the generally known fact that not a single geostrategic area, including the Balkans, can be considered as being outside of one bloc or another and beyond bloc influence, either direct or indirect, on the use of nuclear weapons.

For example, what does the denuclearization of the Balkans mean if the majority of the Balkan countries are members of one of the two military blocs, or to put it even more succinctly, if they are covered, or protected, by the superpowers' nuclear umbrella? Or, on the other hand, if there are nuclear bases at the very flank of the Balkans and if ships and submarines outfitted with nuclear missiles are cruising in the Mediterranean? If one adds to all this the fact that the behavior by some Balkan countries is not always in line with their declared peace-loving attitude, then and only then does it become clear how difficult it is to translate the idea of the denuclearization of the Balkans into a long term peace policy, understanding, noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and strict respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries of this region.

Our neighbor, Albania, for instance, is the only European country that did not take part in the Helsinki summit; its behavior, though it is not a formal member of a military alliance, is contrary to the principles of the UN Charter. What we have in mind in this connection first and foremost is Albania's behavior toward Yugoslavia. Or let's take the example of Bulgaria. It declares itself to be the country which -- just imagine -- is interested more than any other in this region in lasting and stable peace in the Balkans. Bulgaria often reiterates that it recognized the permanence of the Yugoslav borders, and even more frequently it offers us for signature various declarations. It recognizes that the Socialist Republic of Macedonia is part of Yugoslavia, but, what good is all this if it does not recognize the existence of the Macedonian nation as well? Lastly, Bulgaria is a member of the Warsaw Pact, and all her initiatives in the international sphere are part and parcel of the global policy of this military alliance.

However, even if there were no such contradictions in the behavior of individual Balkan countries, the Balkans cannot be viewed as isolated or separated from Europe and the Mediterranean. On the other hand, the world is not threatened merely by nuclear arms but also by conventional arms. At the negotiations in Vienna, it is only the bloc countries that are discussing the reduction of troops in central Europe and -- it goes without saying -- without any noticeable results. The Soviet-American talks in Geneva or Euromissiles are not faring any better, the talks on the reduction in strategic arms, which is again within the exclusive jurisdiction of the two superpowers, have been frozen for over 2 years.

Of course, all this does not preclude the need to talk about the denuclearization of the Balkans, but not by bypassing Europe and the Mediterranean and even less by ignoring the real policy pursued by individual Balkan countries and their behavior. The second special session of the UN General Assembly on disarmament, in June this year, should demonstrate, if nothing else, how much each country is ready to participate in the efforts aimed at general and controlled disarmament. The United Nations is the only real place where this can be discussed and where decisions on this can be made -- of course, under the assumption that the voices of the small nations, too, are heard and appreciated to the same degree, because it is the small countries which are, in fact, threatened most.

CSSR DEPUTY PREMIER POTAC CONTINUES VISIT

Meeting With Djuranovic

LD261546 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1319 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic and Czechoslovak Deputy Prime Minister Svatopluk Potac today noted that relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are developing successfully, particularly in the economic sphere. Svetopluk Potac is on a visit to Yugoslavia.

Despite unfavourable international economic conditions, whose consequences are felt also in the two countries' economies, commodity exchange is this year expected to amount to about one billion, 400 million dollars, it was noted on the occasion. Readiness and actual possibilities exist for finding new jobs based, primarily, on long-term cooperation, it was stressed.

Talks With Dragan

LD261920 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1611 GMT 26 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Feb (TANJUG) -- Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia are interested in development of bilateral economic cooperation on a long-term basis, above all through industrial cooperation, specialization, scientific-technical cooperation and joint ventures on the third markets. This was emphasized in Belgrade today at talks between Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council Zvone Dragan and Czechoslovak Vice-Premier Svatopluk Potac. The Czechoslovak vice-premier and chairman of the Czechoslovak part of the Yugoslav-Czechoslovak Committee for Economic Cooperation is in Belgrade on the occasion of the session of this mixed committee.

GRLICKOV RECEIVES ROMANIAN PARTY OFFICIAL

LD252332 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 25 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (TANJUG) -- Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today received Dumitru Turkus, deputy head of the International Department of the Romanian CP Central Committee. Turkus is in our country for the purpose of coordinating the program of cooperation between the LCY and the Romanian CP for this and next year.

GRLICKOV LEAVES FOR JAPAN AT JCP INVITATION

LD271042 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0537 GMT 27 Feb 82

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Feb (TANJUG) -- Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, left for Tokyo today at the invitation of the Japanese Communist Party Central Committee Presidium. At Belgrade Airport Grlickov was seen off by Svetozar Durutovic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Borislav Milosevic, assistant executive secretary.

Arrival 28 Feb

LD281640 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 28 Feb 82

[Excerpt] Tokyo, 28 Feb (TANJUG) -- Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, arrived today on a friendly visit to Japan at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Japanese CP. At Tokyo's Narita International Airport, Dr Aleksandar Grlickov was met and welcomed by Tomio Nishizawa, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese CP; Hiroshi Tachiki, member of the Presidium and head of an International Department of the Central Committee; Selmo Hasimbegovic, SFRY ambassador to Japan; and Ace Janoski, adviser at the Yugoslav Embassy. The vice chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese CP, Tomio Nishizawa, gave a dinner in honor of Aleksandar Grlickov.